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President Alia Interviewed on Reform, Integration

AU2612092891 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21-22 Dec 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with President Ramiz Alia by Ryszard Bilski in Tirana; date not given: "The Balkans—The Tinderbox of Europe"]

[Text] Shortly after his meeting with members of the new government of nonparty intellectuals (during this meeting emphasis had been laid on a historic responsibility for continuing the process of democratic reforms), Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania, gave an interview to RZECZPOSPOLITA's correspondent, noting that this was the first time he had ever spoken to a Polish journalist.

[Bilski] This is the fourth time I have visited Albania this year. I have noticed that there is more democracy, but less bread. What is the reason for the developing economic crisis?

[Alia] We are trying to accelerate as much as we can the process of reconstruction which began last year, so that is perhaps the reason why we are experiencing simultaneously all the problems and difficulties that accompany a transition period. The economy is suffering the greatest problems, therefore it is the economy that is troubling Albanians the most. Everyone is counting on foreign aid, including me, but first our own effort is required. I keep reminding everyone of that.

[Bilski] In slightly less than nine months, two Albanian governments have been overthrown and a third one has just been formed. What hopes do you attach to this government?

[Alia] In a nutshell, I am convinced this government will continue what the previous government of stabilization started, and that the nonparty government will fare better. The main tasks are privatization, the transfer of land to those who work it, and preparing for new parliamentary elections.

[Bilski] When do you think these elections will take place, and what might be their result?

[Alia] I want the elections to take place as soon as possible, for the point is that the People's Assembly should be occupied by representatives of the political forces that enjoy genuine support among the people. Even in December, the situation is different from what it was in March. I cannot tell what the election results will be, for we are living in a time of very tempestuous changes. Anything can happen. The results of the recent Polish elections prove that to be the case.

[Bilski] In that case, who do you want to win?

[Alia] The Albanian people, democracy.

[Bilski] Will there be a presidential election, and if so, when? Will it be by direct ballot, or will parliament once again decide who will be head of state? Will you run for president again?

[Alia] The new constitution, currently being prepared, will answer most of these questions. As far as I am concerned, I think that even though I still have some time left, it is time someone younger became president.

[Bilski] What kind of solution to the so-called Kosovo problem do you see? I am thinking primarily of Albanians living in Kosovo, but also those living in other parts of Yugoslavia.

[Alia] To tell you the truth, Slovenia and Croatia are already independent states. The map of Yugoslavia has changed, and will change even more. It is high time to firmly ask about the fate and future of the 3 million Albanians living in that changing part of Yugoslavia. Following the experience of Croatia and Slovenia, I have no doubt that the Albanians will now be more determined than ever to set up their own sovereign republic, a republic sovereign in more than just name. I also suspect that they will encounter firm opposition from Serbia, which will try to thwart their plans. Once again they will use force. All this will lead to an escalation of political instability in the Balkans, which, not without reason, are called a tinderbox.

[Bilski] On the one hand, we are witnessing the integration of Europe and the opening of borders, but on the other hand we are witnessing the creation of new borders. Large states are disintegrating into smaller ones. How would you explain these two contradictory processes?

[Alia] The principles of enforced unity and brotherhood, extolled mainly in east Europe, were bound to fail. These principles have disappeared, but because there cannot be a vacuum, a new principle has emerged, that of independence. The peoples of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia want to live on their own, in their own states.

[Bilski] Of all the former socialist countries, Poland is probably the only one not having these problems. The current divisions are taking shape not just against an ethnic background, but also against a religious background. These divisions cannot be stopped by force.

[Alia] We have to endure this period of division so that we are able to integrate ourselves better later on. This is a long and expensive process. Yes, I am thinking in terms of money. Yesterday I read that even with enormous expenditure, it will take five or six years to modernize the economy of the former GDR. In this case money was found, it was supplied by a rich brother. Where will the Ukraine, Russia, Poland, or Albania obtain the funds they need? How long will these countries take to catch up with the West?

In the past we had two superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union. Now there is only one. United Europe

wants to become another superpower. I think the road to a joint, powerful Europe leads via the economy, via a leveling of economic differences by coordinating the often contradictory interests of the East and West and the North and South. and by wisely settling difficult ethnic issues.

[Bilski] What else would you like a Polish journalist to ask you?

[Alia] Like I said, this is my first interview for a Polish newspaper. Via RZECZPOSPOLITA, I would like to wish your countrymen success in building democracy, also because we want to profit by your experience. I cannot fail to remind you that in the past there was much that united us. The anti-Turkish coalition in the 15th century included our own king, Skanderbeg, and your King Wladyslaw of Warna.

People's Assembly Discusses Shkoder Incident

AU2512214091 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)—On December 24 afternoon the People's Assembly started proceedings in plenary session. The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Dr. Kastriot Islami gave the floor at first to the Deputy Ali Spahia who informed that on December 18 the police organs in Shkoder City detained some students under the pretext that they have insulted a police patrol. The students, he said among others, have been beaten and forced to call "Long live the memory of Enver Hoxha", "Long live Ramiz Alia", "We are cubs of Sali Berisha". He stressed these acts have irritated the students and show that the forces of order have still individuals who want to hinder democracy and that the party in power cannot get rid of the forms used in the time of the single party system. The government he said, should adopt measures so that such events be not repeated any more.

Then the floor was taken by the chairman of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party Namik Dokle who stressed among others that all those who force the people to call "Long live the memory of Enver Hoxha" are against the Socialist Party. He demanded that law should be applied mercilessly against them.

Then, the deputies examined the draft law "The Goods' Turnover Tax" which was adopted in principle and article per article.

Further on the deputies examined and adopted the draft law "On the Tax on Profit".

Trade Union Lists 'Demands' for Government

AU2412163191 Tirana ATA in English 1310 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Tirana, December 24 (ATA)—The newspaper "PASQYRA" informs in its issue of December 24 of some demands the Confederation of the Trade Unions of Albania has addressed to the government.

Among the demands of this confederation are the strict observation of the laws adopted such as the indispensibility of order and tranquillity, guarantee of the regular food supply of the people, urgent measures be adopted to ensure heating for all the population. The confederation demands also that in the conditions of the uncontrolled price rising as well as the speculations in the black market, wages should be compensated according to the index of the real price rise. Of first hand importance, these demands stress, should be devoted to the resumption of the work in all the possible sectors of the economy, through the guarantee of the raw material.

European Community Agrees To Grant Food Aid

AU2512214291 Tirana ATA in English 1006 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)—The European Community agreed on December 23 to send to Albania an urgent food aid worth 35 million Ecu (47 million dollars), the officials report. The ministers of trade and agriculture, gathered in Brussels, approved the aid based upon the proposal by the European Community Executive Commission, following the Albanian demands for a total amount of 190 million dollars.Another part of the aid equal to the same amount may be sent in February, the officials said.

Ministry 'Pleased' With New Commonwealth

AU2412143191 Sofia BTA in English
1420 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 24 (BTA)—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that the Republic of Bulgaria is pleased with the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Alma Ata and confirms its December 11 declaration that the new interstate formation should take shape on a contractual basis, without conflicts and within a certain framework, after Russia, Belorussia and the Ukraine laid the beginning in Brest.

The Foreign Ministry's declaration says that Bulgaria is pleased to accept and supports the agreement among the eleven sovereign states according to which the USSR's place in the UN Security Council should be taken by Russia.

Bulgaria reconfirms its willingness for dialogue and cooperation with the individual sovereign states in keeping with the principles of international law. It firmly believes that these states will meet conscientiously the international commitments of the USSR in various spheres, especially those concerning nuclear and conventional weapons, as well as the commitments to human rights questions.

Moldova, Armenia, Kazakhstan Recognized

AU2412152791 Sofia BTA in English
1457 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 24 (BTA)—Bulgaria recognizes Moldavia, Armenia and Kazakhstan as independent states.

In an official statement issued today the Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses Sofia's readiness to establish diplomatic relations with these countries.

Stand on Yugoslavia Expressed in Note to Vatican

AU2412171091 Sofia BTA in English
1648 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 24 (BTA)—Bulgaria supports the European Community's policy to Yugoslavia but does not agree with the recommended change of the name of the Republic of Macedonia. This is said in the note presented today by Bulgaria's Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Dobrev to the Apostolic Nuncio in Sofia, Monsignor Mario Rizzi. In reply to the Vatican's memorandum presented recently to the Bulgarian Government concerning the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, Sofia expresses its support for the declaration on the basic criteria of recognition of new countries from Eastern Europe and the USSR and the declaration on Yugoslavia worked out by the EC on December 16. Bulgaria backs categorically the declaration on Yugoslavia which adopts an approach of equal treatment of all Yugoslav republics which have expressed their wish for independence, the note says.

It further states Bulgaria's conviction that the recognition of the individual Yugoslav republics should lead to a peaceful settlement of the conflicts instead of aggravating them. That is why Sofia supports UN Security Council Resolutions 713 and 721 as well as the CSCE initiatives. Bulgaria is categorical that the UN peacekeeping forces should guarantee the peace.

The note sets forth Sofia's stand on the terms under which the Yugoslav republics will be granted international recognition: the people's sovereign will expressed in an act of parliament, democratically elected parliament and government, full control over the country's entire territory, strict respect for human and ethnic community rights, respect for the existing borders and no territorial claims on any of Yugoslavia's neighbours.

Bulgaria backs the European Community's approach to the recognition of the Yugoslav republics after multilateral coordination of positions.

At the same time, according to Bulgaria the recommendation to change the name of "one of the republics" contained in the last paragraph of the declaration on Yugoslavia is unjustified both from the point of view of international law and from an ethical point view. This is probably the reason why this recommendation has not been included among the main criteria of the republics' recognition, the document says.

In this connection it recalls Greece's repeatedly expressed official stand that it will never recognize a state bearing the name Macedonia, which is considered to be of ancient Greek origin and meaning.

In conclusion, the note assesses positively the unity of action of the EC countries towards Yugoslavia, in which Sofia sees "grounds for hope of overcoming the old rivalry among the European countries for gaining influence on the Balkans and for their division into spheres of influence."

'Package' Recognition of SFRY Republics Desired

AU2412202291 Sofia BTA in English
1905 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 24 (BTA)—Bulgaria will recognize the independence of the republics in Yugoslavia but wants to do this "in a package" and not separately for each republic. "This will happen in tune with the 'European concert' and not independently," Mr. Yordan Vasilev, chairman of the Parliamentary National Security Committee and MP [member of parliament] of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), told journalists today. The committee will move this formula for debates in parliament.

The committee held an extraordinary sitting on "urgent issues concerning the developments in Yugoslavia." We reached this decision by complete consensus, Mr.

Yordan Vasilev stressed. According to him, the Bulgarian Government's stand on the events in Yugoslavia shows lack of any national egoism whatsoever.

The developments in Yugoslavia were discussed today by the leadership of the ruling SDS. It confirmed its stand: Respect for the right of the peoples of the separate republics to self-determination, peaceful solution of the problems and respect for the current realities and borders.

If Bulgaria takes a stand different from the one of the other European states, this would hardly contribute to solving the problems in Yugoslavia but at the same time Bulgaria is for the active participation of the European and international structures in the solving of this serious problem, SDS leader Filip Dimitrov said after the meeting.

'Improved' Relations With Turkey Viewed

AU2612121791 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Dec 91 p 4

[Article by BTA Ankara correspondent Apostol Saraivanov: "Sometimes We Meet, Sometimes Not"]

[Text] Sometimes we meet, sometimes not—this is the general impression from our bilateral relations with the Republic of Turkey if we look at them more closely. Over the last two years these relations were the object of particular attention and numerous disputes in Bulgaria. Almost every Bulgarian has his own opinion on whether we should develop and intensify our relations with our southern Islamic neighbor, whether this would be to Bulgaria's advantage, whether it would involve a danger for our sovereignty, or even, God forbid, jeopardize our country's territorial integrity. Similar questions are further discussed in regard to the status of the Turks living in Bulgaria, and the question arises whether one should not be afraid that their presence could supply a pretext for repeating the "Cyprus scenario," or whether Turkey is likely to interfere in our domestic affairs. Another frequent question is whether Bulgaria's road to Europe should go through the Bosphorus, and other such things. I am convinced that if I should add my own view to this many-voiced choir of opinions and differences of opinion, it would not harm anyone, except myself perhaps....

It is universally known that Bulgarian-Turkish relations have been developing in a rather wave-like manner, with many ups but with even more downs. Presumably historians will provide their own explanations for this phenomenon, but in my opinion, it stems from permanent mutual distrust. In addition, it was distrust on a high level between two states, and not between two peoples. The mutual distrust between the common people of both countries which appeared and developed in the second half of the eighties, unfortunately, is the result of a state policy which developed in our country following the notorious "national revival" policy concocted by the Zhivkov clique and the ensuing reciprocal behavior of the Turkish authorities. The damage caused by Zhivkov, "the national revivalist," and his entourage to Bulgarian-Turkish relations is immeasurable, but even worse is the damage caused to relations between the Bulgarian and Turkish peoples and especially to the relations between Bulgarians and Turks inside our country. Why should we, myself and my old friend the singer Mustafa Chaushev, whom I grew up with like a brother, be responsible for the actions of our communist rulers, so that he has not contacted me for years and I am ashamed to call on him? What have ordinary Bulgarian citizens in common with the policy of the leader-party so that even today they are not welcomed in Turkey with the traditional warmth and hospitality which were characteristic of the Turkish people's attitude to Bulgarians in the past, prior to the so-called "national revival" process? A long time will pass before relations between the common people will be restored, because the incipient warming up and speedy progress to a new positive climax in Bulgarian-Turkish inter-state relations will exercise its beneficial influence upon the peoples at a much slower and more gradual pace.

The road toward a new "rise" in Bulgarian-Turkish relations clearly emerged in the talks recently held in Ankara by Stoyan Ganev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs. It was agreed at those talks that a number of questions which are traditionally "pending" in the two countries' bilateral relations should be resolved within the next six months. One of them is the question of the border at the Rezovska River, which has been a controversial subject for several decades. Other issues included the maritime borders, fishing zones, controlling flights over the Black Sea, property questions, and so forth. The resolve which was expressed by the new governments of both countries, represented by Stoyan Ganev on the Bulgarian side, and Hikmet Cetin on the Turkish side, for the elimination of these major obstacles in our recent relations inspires us with hope that the same resolve would mark further measures for confidence building between Bulgaria and Turkey. An important step in this direction was also the visit of General Dogan Gures, the commander in chief of the Turkish Armed Forces' General Staff. The final document of the summit meeting held by the Organization of the Islamic Conference included a statement expressing the satisfaction of the member-countries on the situation of Muslims in Bulgaria, which is a new sign of our improved relations with Turkey. The list of examples in this respect could be further pursued and I am convinced that it will become longer and longer in the future, which is in the interest of both countries and of their peoples, as I have already pointed out.

This is the true, correct path. The more we advance along it, the sooner we can overcome our mutual distrust and the greater confidence we show in each other, the easier and more useful contacts between our two countries are likely to become. Along with this, our areas of mutual interest will increase and the points on which we do not agree will diminish. The more firmly we proceed along

this path, which is willingly embarked upon by the new governments of both countries, the more that the question marks which are worrying Bulgarians today will be eliminated and the easier it will be to overcome the problems which appear as serious obstacles today both in our domestic policy and in our bilateral relations. May God bless and inspire our new leaders so that they may have the necessary strength, patience, and skill, but—above all—sufficient time to follow this difficult path to the end.

Zhelev Opens Conference of Intelligence Services

AU2612110691 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Dec 91 p 1

[Opening address by President Zhelyu Zhelev's to the national conference on the role of intelligence services in Sofia on 17 December]

[Text] At the national conference on matters to do with the intelligence services which began at the Boyana Residence on 17 December with representatives from abroad, the changes in national intelligence services during the transitional period from totalitarianism to democracy were analyzed. Questions on parliamentary and government control of these services were also discussed.

The first session was opened by President Zhelev:

Respected guests! Ladies and gentlemen! Today's world is characterized by a stormy and irresistible application of the principles of democracy and the market economy. The dictatorial and totalitarian regimes are being destroyed almost simultaneously on all the continents—Latin America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Perhaps the scale and depth of these changes affect Europe most of all, especially Central and East Europe. In just three years the East European communist regimes and their collective systems have disintegrated. This gives rise to a huge dissemination of people, capital, technologies, and ideas between the East and West. This unique movement gives rise to unprecedented opportunities for action against various terrorist and sabotage operations and illegal arms and narcotics deals.

You know very well that the most modern methods, technical resources and systems are used in these criminal purposes. That is why the most effective forces for combating these criminal phenomena are the intelligence services. They have the necessary professionalism, the authority of the state, and the support of an enormous proportion of the democratic, and those in the process of becoming democratic, societies.

I have studied the technology relating to the function of totalitarian regimes, and what made an impression on me was the fact that the intelligence services are always used to destabilize particular circles in society or society as a whole. I was impressed by the fact that particularly under socialist totalitarian governments, the intelligence services are outside parliamentary and even outside government control, functioning almost "without rules," that is, without laws, but at the command of the leader. At the moment when we want to establish law and order everywhere in accordance with national and international criteria and complete the democratization process, we must rid ourselves of all these sinister formations. In addition, I think that the intelligence services must quickly reform themselves and create normal conditions for the overall democratization of our society. Our attempt at democratization shows that initially this process creates conditions for criminal and terrorist acts on an international scale. Certain elements undertaking subversive acts have also been noticed. I believe that the resolution of such a complex, large-scale and critical problem for the success of the democratic reforms, such as the battles against terrorism, narcotics and the arms trade and the safeguarding of personal and corporate security ought not to be resolved by hit-and-miss methods. The proficient and highly regarded experience of countries with developed legal systems and democracy, particularly that of the United States, suggests that the most modern scientific methods and technical resources must be used here.

In so far as these phenomena take on an increasingly universal nature, it is obvious that the battle against them requires increasing and closer tighter coordination of the intelligence services of all countries. This conference is one of the most important measures in that direction.

I thank the Americans, the co-oorganizers of the conference, for sending some of their best specialists in this field to inform us of the American experience in this direction.

I thank the Governments of Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Albania also for sending their specialists and leaders in the security services to share their experience with us.

I thank everyone for taking part in this conference and wish you success in your work and a pleasant stay in our country.

Dimitrov Outlines Government Tasks in Interview

AU2512192891 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 25 (BTA)—"The government is expected to do five things," Mr. Filip Dimitrov, Bulgaria's prime minister, said in an interview with the "BULGARSKI DNEVNIK" magazine.

First, it should complete the process of decommunization which means that the country's administration, economy and culture will be freed from the last remnants of the communist totalitarianism. This, however, does not mean a "witch-hunt," Mr. Dimitrov stressed. Second, the government is expected to share in the legislative reforms and to abide by the law. Fourth, the government should preserve social peace and last but not

least, the government should follow a clear-cut foreign policy line. Foreign policy priorities are well-known: regional stability, integration into the common European home, good and friendly relations with all democratic countries.

Asked about the Tripartite Committee comprising the government, trade unions and employers, Mr. Dimitrov said that it would be reshaped. The government is holding talks with the trade unions on the establishment of special groups which will deal with specific tasks: adjustment of wages and pensions for inflation, labour safety, etc.

Dimitrov Chairs SDS Leadership Meeting

AU2412152091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] On 24 December a meeting of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] took place. Filip Dimitrov chaired the meeting, which adopted several organizational decisions related to the merging and joint activity of the Election Club and the National Coordinating Council.

Mr. Khristo Popov was elected SDS organizational secretary. He replaces Mr. Georgi Panev, who withdrew at his own request. Mr. Panev is a member of the National Assembly and two of its commissions.

The SDS National Coordinating Council decided that the local branches of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, which take part on the activity of the local SDS coordinating councils, should also observe the activity of the SDS National Coordinating Council.

Some foreign policy issues also were discussed. The fundamental position of the SDS on respecting the right to self-determination of the population of Yugoslavia's separate republics was confirmed. At the same time respect was expressed for the existing realities and borders. The principle that Bulgaria has no territorial claims vis-a-vis its neighbors, was confirmed.

Problems Noted in Implementing Land Restitution

AU2512193091 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 25 (BTA)—According to both politicians and experts, the Agricultural Land Tenure Act is among the most important pieces of legislation adopted this year. It set forth a land restitution procedure and raised hopes for a prompt start of the agrarian reform. Shortly after its adoption, however, the act proved to be a pain in the neck.

"It will be better to draft a new bill but this will delay the reform by a year or so," said the experts of the National Land Board, a body specially designed to supervise the implementation of the agricultural reform. That is why they chose to submit to parliament an amendment to the current act. The ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) also insists that the act should be amended.

About 250,000 former owners have already submitted their applications. According to different sources, the number of owners in Bulgaria before the collectivization ranged between 2.5 and 4 million. The deadline for applications expires in March 1992.

Mr. Dimitur Georgiev, deputy chairman of the National Land Board, believes that the reason why people are not anxious to claim back their land is the formulation of the act itself. According to one of the clauses, owners who get back their land, may not sell it within three years. According to another, owners who do not cultivate their land make themselves liable to serious sanctions. At the same time, however, most of the owners are elderly people who cannot cultivate the land by themselves and their heirs have long ago been urbanized. On the other hand, many of the people living in the countryside do not own land or have enough money to buy land.

Specialists are warning that the present act has yet another fault—it is based on the erroneous notion that each Bulgarian should own a piece of land. If Bulgaria is to become a country with modern farming the legislative should design a mechanism preventing the fragmentation of land. That is why the SDS insists that the maximum amount of land that an owner may hold should be increased. Under the present act, this limit is 30 hectares and 20 hectares for regions with intensive farming.

To stimulate private farming the experts from the Land Board believe that the regulations for the acquisition of land by foreigners should be liberalized. According to the amendments to the act, foreigners may buy land through joint ventures with Bulgarian participation.

The political forces are divided on the amendment to the act even before the opening of the official debate. Most controversial of all is that clause in the amendment which envisages the confiscation of land that has been handed out to private farmers under various ministerial decrees. At present, about 1 million hectares of cooperative land is being cultivated by private persons. The Bulgarian Socialist Party warned that if this clause is adopted these farmers will be deprived of their plots of land. According to SDS lawyers, however, this is a manipulation, the amendment, they say, is directed mainly against the former nomenklatura who acquired big plots of land for summer houses, thus violating the laws that were then in force. The SDS will be able to push through the amendments if only it is backed by the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS). The DPS, which so far has sided with the SDS, hinted that it would oppose some of the clauses.

Havel Congratulates Yeltsin on Alma-Ata Accord

LD2412133691 Prague CSTK in English 1258 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Prague Dec 24 (CSTK)--Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to submit his resignation as president of the Soviet Union tomorrow, Russian President Boris Yeltsin told Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in a telephone conversation today. Havel called Yeltsin to congratulate him on the agreement concluded Saturday in Alma-Ata between 11 republics of the former Soviet Union creating a Commonwealth of Independent States. The two leaders also agreed that a bilateral trade agreement ensuring supplies of Russian oil to Czechoslovakia for 1992 will be signed in early January.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier will take part in the conference on aid to the former Soviet republics, scheduled to take place in Washington next month, Havel said.

Foreign Trade Official Views Trade With CIS

LD2512140491 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Interview with Zdenek Martak, deputy minister of foreign trade, by reporter Jaroslav Skalicky; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Skalicky] Mr. Deputy Minister, after your next to last visit to Moscow you complained that there was no one to negotiate on behalf of the Soviet Union. I presume that the situation this time was even more complicated since the Soviet Union as such has actually ceased to exist.

[Martak] That is true. It was both more complicated and simpler as I actually had no need to search for those partners from the center, although I did do so, since some of the issues of indebtedness are directly related to them. But the aim of my trip this time was to hold talks with the Russian Federation and with Armenia. We initialled a draft trade agreement with Armenia and also the draft annual protocol and thus closed the circle of the individual republics. Only the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, and Belarus remain open. Those are the most important ones and we are working out the mechanism very intensively. [passage omitted]

[Skalicky] The Russian Federation is taking over the liabilities of the former Soviet Union, i.e. also the Soviet debt toward Czechoslovakia amounting to $5 billion.

[Martak] It is true that the Russian Federation has taken upon itself the responsibility for the debts, it is actually the heir of the former Soviet Union, and we will have to discuss our relations with it as far as the debts are concerned. But it will certainly not be the only republic which will pay back the debt. Each of the other republics will have to contribute toward it. Our idea of dealing with the debt problem is for a working group to be formed on each side, composed of experts who are initiated in the matter, and of committed bodies and then we will first systematically analyze the various types of debts, as they were incurred, and then search for the key to a solution, both in terms of urgency and of a time schedule.

[Skalicky] This year too, the former Soviet Union was our number one trade partner. What, in your view, will this trade exchange be like next year?

[Martak] Well, we will not speak of the former union, we will speak of individual republics. It seems that in the case of the Russian Federation we can achieve something around $1.7 billion in imports. In exports it is a question of the mechanism agreed upon and if we calculate on the same amount, then it is something over $3 billion. We will have to sign individual agreements with the other republics and strive for such contracts which will curtail the overflow as much as possible.

[Skalicky] What about oil consignments?

[Martak] As my colleague Mr. (Petricek) already negotiated in the talks with the Ministry of Economy of the Russian Federation, Czechoslovakia will request about 7.5 million tonnes of oil and an agreement was signed in the presence of Deputy Premier Gaydar. We consider the agreement to be legally binding and we would like to get 7.5 million tonnes of so-called state oil centrally and, of course, like this year, a large part of the oil will be imported under a barter or other agreement. I think that the often mentioned fact that today we are unilaterally focused on Russia is at the same time to our advantage, since oil transported by pipeline is the cheapest while for them, too, supplying us is also most advantageous. I am an optimist with regard to this matter.

Stance on Recognizing SFRY Republics Reported

LD2312220191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2058 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Prague, December 23 (TANJUG)—Czechoslovakia cannot as yet fully de jure recognize none of the Yugoslav republics, as set out in Prague on Monday night, following a special session of the federal government. [sentence as received] Czechoslovakia would be governed in this respect by the stand adopted by the majority of the CSCE member-countries or the "Twelve", the announcement said. The government assessed that certain forms of contact with Slovenia, over the past months, meant its de facto recognition, but that for the recognition for Croatia there still did not exist certain corresponding pre-conditions. Until a part of its territory was being controlled by the federal army, the announcement said, Croatia cannot be recognized. [sentence as received] The announcement cited that Czechoslovakia wanted to pursue a balanced policy toward all the subjects of the Yugoslav crisis and maintain dialogue.

Dienstbier Discusses NACC Meeting Talks

AU2412113491 Prague CSTK in English 1437 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Prague Dec 21 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today told CSTK NATO is aware of the necessity to support building democracy and developing the economy in Central and East European countries. He returned today from Brussels where he attended on Friday the first meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) which was initiated in the autumn by NATO in order to establish formal ties with its former enemies.

Dienstbier said he discussed with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner the need for linking up Czechoslovakia's communications network with West Europe, acceleration of building new oil pipelines in order to diversify Czechoslovakia's suppliers (the country now depends mainly on the Soviet Union) and opportunities for building a large international airport at Milovice, central Bohemia, where a military airport was used by the occupying Soviet Army. Also discussed was participation of Czechoslovak builders in the construction of flats for Soviet soldiers returning home from Germany, Poland and the Baltic republics, Dienstbier said.

In response to the possibility of a breakup of Czechoslovakia, Woerner warned this would be maddening and against the interests of Europe, Dienstbier said.

The NACC consists of 16 NATO nations, six countries of the former Warsaw Pact, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

Carnogursky Comments on West's View of Republics

LD2412113291 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Weekly Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by reporter Lubomir Lintner; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Lintner] Your attendence at the seminar in Oxford has provided grounds for consideration of whether foreign countries are sufficiently aware of what is in fact hidden behind Czechoslovakia's title. In the report from this seminar I noticed that already the opening speech of an English representative, who emphasized that our federation is allegedly a symbol of central Europe and who stressed the principles of the existing federation, has generated a number of contradictory reactions. Do people abroad hear more about the existence of the Czechoslovak nation, rather than about the existence of a Czech and a Slovak nation?

[Carnogursky] [passage omitted] One should realize that from the viewpoint of international law Czechoslovakia is in fact a unitary state. It is only Czechoslovakia and not the individual republics which acts as one unit abroad. We made the first step leading toward placing certain emphasis on the existence of the Slovak and Czech Republic in the Association Agreement with the European Communities when we let it be known, at least through the unilateral announcement made by Czechoslovakia when signing this agreement, that the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic do exist and that they will be taking part in implementing the rights and duties ensuing from the Association Agreement, even if they are doing so as Czechoslovakia, which is the contractual partner of the European Communities in the Association Agreement. Even given these recognitions or lack of recognitions, the awareness or lack of awarness of the existence of the Slovak and Czech Republic, we should realize that from the medium-term or long-term view point it is the potential and the true position of the republics, or the federation in this case, which are of decisive importance. And with regard to the fact that the federation can no longer simply bypass the republics, because the position of the republics is so strong that they simply make this impossible for the federation, even the international position of the republics will continue to be enhanced.

[Lintner] My next question is connected with what you have already said. Your idea of the existence of an independent star for Slovakia on the European political sky met with a response from some English participants that at its present stage the European Community is not capable of accepting something like that. What is the difference in attitude toward the concept of two nations on the territory of present-day Czechoslovakia and of nations on the territory of present-day Yugoslavia?

[Carnogursky] There is a substantial difference. There is a war in Yugoslavia and there are already thousands of dead in Croatia. There is nothing like that here. We must realize that Western Europe, and maybe also the United States, look upon central and Eastern Europe also from the point of view of their own interests, at least as far as they understand their own interests. From the point of view of their own interests, the situation in Central and Eastern Europe appears to them as a threat of instability, an instability caused by national differences or, as may be, by hostility between nations, and such instability could be transferred to West Europe, be it in the form of refugees, or in the form of demands for economic help, or even in the form of direct conflicts here, which could then not be ignored in the West. In the same way, we are, let us say, afraid that some conflicts may erupt on the territory of the former Soviet Union, thus leading to waves of refugees pouring into our country with whom we would not be able to cope, etc. In Western Europe, they look upon the whole of Central and Eastern Europe in a similar vein and they have the impression that it is precisely the preservation of the status quo which best meets the needs of Western Europe, too. By our own set-up and talks here at home, and also by respecting the democratic rules of law, both internal and international,

we must prove that the eventual change of the internal set-up of the republic will not threaten anybody's interests. [passage omitted]

Czech Weekly Sees 'Disinformation' on Serbia

92BA0271A Prague REPORTER in Czech 11 Dec 91 pp I-IV

[Rajko Dolecek article: "A Huge Fraud?"]

[Text] The events in Yugoslavia are a classic example of how the media are able to describe a situation one-sidedly and unobjectively. Some correspondents' description of the events is only superficial, they have no knowledge of the historical background, they do not verify their facts, do not make an effort to hear also the other side, thus becoming easily manipulated, and as a result their readers become victims of a clearly unintended huge fraud. I remember a similar disinformation campaign against Czechoslovakia before Munich, when so many foreign journals were bringing "verified" reports of Germans being oppressed by the "bad" Czechs. And far too many people abroad believed that disinformation.

The Fundamental Fraud

in connection with the events in Yugoslavia is the demonization of Serbia and the Serbs, who are to blame for everything. Serbia is described as the last communist state in Europe (except Albania), by which the Croatian and Slovenian propaganda tries to gain the goodwill of the West. It is interesting that those, whose media defame Serbia the most, are primarily the former fellow combatants of Hitler and Mussolini (the puppet state Croatia, Austria, Hungary, FRG, and to some extent also Italy), against whom the Serbs fought in the last war. To portray Serbia as a communist state is nonsense. In that case, even CSFR could be called a communist state, if we consider the abundance of former communists in the government, the diplomatic corps, the parliament, and the media (for example, top television management). According to data presented by Czech National Council Deputy Karas, there were as many as 80 percent of former party members in some ministries of the federal and Czech government.

In Serbia it has already been possible for many years to travel anywhere, private entrepreneurship is flourishing, articles as well as books with anticommunist content are being published, there are several very active political parties that take a tough position in the parliament as well as during demonstrations against the Socialist Party of Serbia (formerly Communist Party) which, nevertheless, even according to Western criteria, won last year's elections fairly. The party of orthodox communists is negligible. The state coat-of-arms is to be the original Serbian crowned eagle, there is to be no red star on its flag. In Belgrade the construction of the largest Orthodox cathedral in the Balkans, the cathedral of St. Sava, patron of schools and culture, is nearing completion. Even Christmas has begun to be officially celebrated. I don't know what is communistic about that.

It is interesting that the harrangues against "communist" Serbia come from the President of Slovenia, M. Kucan, until recently a member of the top federal communist elite and head of the Party in Slovenia, and from the President of Croatia, F. Tudjman, who as a communist attained the rank of general and the position of head of the personnel department (that means, a cadre officer) of the Yugoslav National Army (JNA). Toward the end of the war he was a partisan captain (not a general, as the propaganda would have it), and he got into trouble for nationalistic deviation in the seventies.

The Fraud

is that almost no one in the media mentions that during the war (1941-1945) 700,000 to 800,000 Serbs were murdered in the "independent" puppet state of Croatia (NDH) by the Ustase organization of the war criminal Ante Pavelic, and by some of the Muslims from Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Albanians. A part of the genocide was also the Croatian concentration camp Jasenovac, in which 700,000 people were murdered, mostly Serbs and Jews, as well as anti-Ustase Croats and Gypsies. Of the prewar 1,300,000 Serbs in Croatia, 600,000 remained. The present Croatian government was democratically elected in last year's elections; the election campaign was run on a considerably chauvinistic, sometimes perhaps even Ustasevist platform. It was enough to listen to Radio Zagreb at that time, to read the local papers. When, on top of that, graffiti with the name USTASA began to appear on buildings, nobody should be surprised that the remaining Serbs had to get ready to defend themselves, that they do not want the areas in which they live to stay in Croatia when it becomes—provided it does—independent.... Did anyone from our media actually contact some of the Serbs remaining in Croatia?... To say that during the war the Serbs and Croats mutually murdered each other, and thus place them on the same level, is unacceptable. It is as if someone put an equals sign between the Japanese with their extermination camps and the Americans, explaining that, after all, murders were done by both sides.

A Fraud

is also the one-sided description of events in Slovenia, which has the advantage of being nationally homogeneous. Our media have been very vocal in describing heavy fighting as it was portrayed by one side, but practically no one mentioned reports and analyses from the other side. After the declaration of independence by Slovenia, the Federal Government, led by Croat Ante Markovic, ordered the Federal Army (JNA) to occupy Slovenian border crossings, which was its legal right. The federal units were being attacked by units of the Slovenian national guard. Several unverified Slovenian reports spoke at the beginning of the conflict about fierce battles, about hundreds of dead and wounded, about

massacres of the civilian population. In the end it turned out that during one week of "hard" fighting fortunately "only" 62 people died—what a waste every unnecessarily lost life is—and about 250 people were wounded. They were mostly members of the JNA, which the national guardsmen were repeatedly attacking from ambush, even when they were returning to their barracks according to the agreement. The national guard was even obstructing their departure from the border crossings which was arranged by the EC delegation. All the "bombing of civilian population" practically amounted to was an attack by four planes on the airport and telecommunications in the vicinity of Ljubljana and by two planes on the airport in Maribor. Fortunately, no one was killed. And the Army could have sent dozens of bombers against Slovenia without any problem. Soldiers of the JNA, who were taken prisoner in Slovenia, complained after their return home that the Croatian and Slovenian officers of the JNA ordered them to surrender.

A Fraud

is that our media practically never asked who armed Slovenia and Croatia. Almost unnoticed was the report that recently Hungary secretly delivered to Croatia (its former vassal in Austria-Hungary) 100,000 Kalashnikov assault rifles (in February the Hungarian Government had to apologize for it). One might ask what our Federal Government would do if Hungary secretly delivered one-tenth of this number of machine guns to Slovakia?

Slovenia was armed primarily by Austria, in part also from Italy and the FRG—the deliveries were obviously made through international arms merchants. Radio Paris recently reported that the federal army confiscated 5,000 automatic weapons of Czechoslovak provenance at the Zagreb airport....

When a murder is committed, usually one looks for a motive; the well-known Latin question, cui bono, is asked, who would benefit? Why are our Pentagonal friends Hungary and Austria doing their utmost to destabilize the situation in another member of the Pentagonal, Yugoslavia, by sending substantial supplies of arms, by propaganda, and perhaps even by training the national guard, in order to inflict damage on Serbia? Why did the Hungarian Prime Minister J. Antal point out that, after World War I, Vojvodina was awarded to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (SHS), and therefore not to Serbia, and that in Vojvodina there is a considerable Hungarian minority (19 percent of the population, Fischer's Almanac 1990)? We must not forget that Serbia was the main enemy of Austria-Hungary and Germany in their expansion into the Balkans. It paid for it with more than 25 percent of its population during World War I.... Otto Habsburg was sent to Croatia by the European Parliament, as a member of a group, to study the situation. Is this not a resurrection of the specter of the old monarchy, this time in the concept of the triad: Austria, Hungary, Greater Croatia?

A Fraud

is the blackening of the victorious Kingdom of Serbia and its motives at the time Yugoslavia came into being in 1918. The paper FRANCE SOIR even described Serbia as a country with an Ottoman tradition that cannot be compared with the European and democratic traditions of Slovenia and Croatia. The Kingdom of Serbia was a model constitutional monarchy before World War I, with many parties and an active political life; it gained freedom through its own efforts in devastating uprisings and wars against the Turks. Slovenia never was independent, and the Croatian nobles turned the governing of the country over to the Hungarian king Koloman in 1102, and since that time Croatia was in bondage to Hungary. Their political life took place within the framework of Austro-Hungarian possibilities, but was nevertheless varied and characterized mostly by cooperation with the Serbs in the monarchy. Professor Masaryk, a great friend of the Serbs and all Southern Slavs, repeatedly defended both Croats and Serbs against the monarchy's despotism (the so-called treason trial, Friendjung's trial in 1908 and 1909) and thus defamed the monarchy's authorities.

Serbia was among the first to recognize the existence of Czechoslovakia. Czech, Croatian, as well as Slovenian volunteers, recruited from prisoners of war in Russia, fought at the side of the Serbian army in Serbia and on the Salonica front. After the liberation of Serbia (fall of 1918), the Serbian troops did not cross the borders of Croatia and Dalmatia. A National Council was formed in Zagreb, which proclaimed a state of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, part of the former monarchy. When the Italian Army began to advance deep into Slovenia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, the National Council turned for help to the Serbian Army, which chased the Italians out. The army was greeted in Zagreb with jubilation.

On 27 November 1918, the National Council sent a delegation to Belgrade to present a petition to the Prince-Regent Alexander requesting union with Serbia. The request was granted, and on 1 December 1918 the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was born, which was in fact the day when Yugoslavia was founded.

Several days after Yugoslavia was attacked by Germany (6 April 1941), the independent puppet state of Croatia (NDH) was created, to which its "protectors," Hitler and Mussolini, added Bosnia and Hercegovina and took away part of Dalmatia. The NDH Army fought against the Allies. Slovenia ceased to exist at that time; its northern part was annexed by Germany, its southern part including Ljubljana by Italy, and a smaller north-eastern part by Hungary.

A Fraud

perpetrated by some of the media is the portrayal of the situation in Kosovo, where the number of Serbs and Montenegrins was reduced to a mere 10 percent of the population, in contrast to the 35-40 percent before World War II. It happened as a result of a genocide

during the war, which was committed by the Albanians (10,000 to 12,000 murdered, 50,000 to 60,000 robbed and expelled), and as a result of properties being bought up under duress, and of emigration during recent years. Most Albanians collaborated with the occupiers (Italy, then the Germans), the murderous 21st SS Division was even made up of them. The disinformation about Kosovo alone would need a special chapter.

At the meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] representatives in Prague on 3 July 1991, President Havel stated with regard to Yugoslavia that not only the integrity of an internationally recognized state must be respected, but also other principles of the CSCE, including the inalienable right of nations to self-determination. The bombastic declaration of the CSFR Federal Government (4 July 1991) no longer mentions anything about the integrity of Yugoslavia. President Masaryk would have been very sad indeed after reading it.

Federal Parliament Approves 1992 Balanced Budget

LD2112190791 Prague CSTK in English
1607 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Prague Dec 21 (CSTK)—After protracted dramatic negotiations at various levels, during which even the very existence of the Czechoslovak Federation was threatened, the Federal Parliament today approved a balanced budget for 1992.

The main stumbling blocs were the distribution of state revenues between the federation, the Czech and Slovak Republics, and layouts on social security in which government proposed cuts met with strong opposition of trade unions. Presenting the final version of the budget to the parliament on Friday, Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus warned that this is the last moment for approving the budget. If it were rejected, Czechoslovakia would have to improvise next year which would discourage foreign investment in the country.

The approved budget envisages equal revenues and spendings of 134,700 million crowns (4,490 million USD). The aggregate Federal, Czech and Slovak budgets amount to 523,000 million crowns (about 17,433 million USD).

While this year, state revenues were distributed between the Federation, the Czech and the Slovak Republics in the 35:40:25 ratio, next year it will be 35:41.5:23.5.

Newly, the federal budget will subsidise with 5,000 million crowns (16.6 million usd) the budgets of the Czech and Slovak Republics. Agreement on this was reached at an emergency meeting in Brno December 4 of top officials, including Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. The meeting was called after the Czech Cabinet demanded an aditional 5,400 million crowns (18 million USD) to the amount agreed upon at the November 20 talks between the Federal, Czech and Slovak Finance Ministers, to cover expenditures on health care, education and the police. Of the 5,000 million Crowns, the Czech Republic will get 4,800 million Crowns (160 million USD) and the Slovak Republic will get 200 million (6.6 million USD).

An important part of the 1992 Czechoslovak budget are layouts on social security which will consitute 55 per cent of all spendings compared with 52 per cent this year.

Under the budget, the state allowance of 140 crowns (about 3.7 USD [U.S. dollars]) monthly, introduced in summer 1990 to compensate for growing prices, will no longer be paid to economicaly productive people. Eligible for it will be children, pensioners and women on maternity leave.

The parliament rejected the government proposal to ban working pensioners' receiving both pension and pay, but decided to impose big taxes on their pay.

The parliament also decided to introduce a 33-per cent tax on wages exceeding 10,000 crowns (about 333 USD) monthly.

Those who lose their jobs will get an average pay for two months and if they do not find a job, they will get for six months unemployment benefits amounting to 60 per cent of their previous average pay. This year the dole is 65 per cent and is paid for 12 months.

Those being trained for a new job will receive the dole throughout the requalification period.

On Friday Klaus said the government expects the Czechoslovak economy will reach next year the bottom as a result of the implementation of economic reforms. In 1993 it should start to recover again, he added.

Klaus predicted this year's economic decline of 12-14 per cent to grow by another 3-6 per cent in 1992. Unemploment will go up by about one-third, to a total of 730,000 and inflation is expected to grow by one per cent per month, Klaus said.

The Czech budget was approved by the Czech parliament on Thursday, the Slovak budget was approved by the Slovak parliament on Friday.

Kozyrev Calls Jeszensky on Alma-Ata Accord

LD2512122891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] The Russian and the Hungarian Foreign Ministries have agreed to cooperate in future on the dismantling of the Russian military industry. Andrey Kozyrev has spoken to Geza Jeszenszky on the phone. Earlier, the Hungarian foreign minister offered congratulations on the successes of the Alma-Ata conference and wished the Russian leadership success in its work, especially in view of the fact that it is expected to take the seat of the Soviet Union in the UN Security Council.

Cooperation Discussed

LD2512230691 Budapest MTI in English 1947 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 25 (MTI)—Hungary is pleased to see the achievements of the Alma-Ata conference, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky informed his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev yesterday, expressing best wishes concerning Kozyrev's new responsibilities stemming, among other things, from Russia's membership in the UN Security Council, Hungarian foreign affairs spokesman Janos Herman reported today.

In the Security Council, Russia is now replacing the Soviet Union, officially dismantled at a meeting of eleven republics in Alma-Ata over the weekend.

Having received the message, Kozyrev phoned Jeszenszky Tuesday evening, to thank Hungary for supporting the cause of the republics' sovereignty.

During the conversation, the foreign ministers discussed new ways of cooperation in the Security Council.

Kozyrev spoke highly of Hungarian proposals put forward at the North Atlantic Cooperation Council founding session, particularly the ideas on retraining the workforce made redundant by a narrowing of military industry.

The sides agreed to hold further consultations on the issue, Herman reported.

Defense Minister Reviews Moscow, Kiev Talks

LD2612093791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0730 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Interview with Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur by correspondent Gabor Kereszti; place and date not given; on the "World Clock" program—recorded]

[Text] The Hungarian Defense Minister recently signed a cooperation agreement in Moscow with union Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov. Following this, Lajos Fur travelled to Kiev, where he signed a statement of intent with the Ukrainian Defense Minister on the development of future contacts between the two countries and the armies. After his arrival home, Gabor Kereszti interviewed him for "World Clock." The first question was why the treaty had been signed just now.

[Fur] This treaty was in fact prepared last year, in late spring, with joint agreement from both sides. But it could not be signed, at the request of the Soviet side, until the interstate agreement had been signed. Since the interstate agreement was signed last week, it was the joint request of both sides ours, too, that we should quickly sign and make an agreement between the two sides. The truth is that for over a year there has been no kind of agreement which regulates cooperation between the armies of the two countries. As I always say, this is of vital significance for us, not just because it is a question of being neighbors, but also because a large part of the military technology of the Hungarian Army derives from Soviet imports. Thus, it is of vital importance for us that there is cooperation between the armies and in various acquisitions, which may be connected with the affairs of the armies.

[Kereszti] There is now such an agreement, but it is questionable which army we have signed this with and how long all this will be viable, because only a few more days are left of this year. What will happen if on 1 January the Soviet Union ceases to exist and the autonomous republics appear on the stage as autonomous legal entities and separate agreements have to be made with them? What kind of army will we face?

[Fur] Yes, the question is justified. However, it is my conviction that the settling of affairs within the army will not be as dramatically rapid as the political settlement of relations between the states, the affairs of the states. Many things are intertwined with each other so that to dismantle these; to take them apart bit by bit, will require a very long time. Apart from this, there is a joint endeavour on the part of all existing successor states, at least on the part of those on whose territory strategic and tactical nuclear weapons have been placed, or amassed, that these must remain in one hand, in one single military organization, under single direction. So this cannot be divided up. We know what dreadful dangers would be latent in this.

[Kereszti] Is it conceivable that this centrally directed nuclear potential will be amassed in the Russian Federation?

[Fur] There is another issue apart from the Russian, there are nuclear weapons in the Belarussian republic. There are four altogether—Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. Some of these will be taken out, withdrawn and destroyed. I think this will happen, particularly in the case of the tactical nuclear weapons. As to what will become of the strategic weapons, which are really dangerous and represent a huge strike potential, I do not know. We did not talk about this. We did not get information about this, either. However, from certain indications, my view is that they wish to keep these

within the system, if nowhere else, on the territory and possession of the most enormous, the biggest successor state, Russia.

[Kereszti] It seems that the Hungarian side was far-sighted, because at their request a separate clause was incorporated into the agreement. What does this say exactly?

[Fur] To be precise: If there is a change in the name of the state with which we have now signed this agreement, with the Defense Ministry of the Union Soviet Socialist Republics, and if the structure of the state is changed, then this agreement will be valid for the changed circumstances.

Security Head Views Reorganization Tasks

AU2012143491 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Dec 91 p 5

[Interview with Major General Sandor Simon, general director of the National Security Office, by Karoly Lencses; place and date not given: "Even the Intelligence Services Have Gentlemen's Agreements"]

[Excerpts] "We cannot allow a spy to obtain valuable information. Nor should we discover the perpetrators of a terrorist attack with spectacular work after the attack has been carried out. Even if the public does not speak about this, it is much more important for us to avoid a terrorist attack and to successfully hinder the attempts to obtain information illegally"—Sandor Simon said. The general director of the National Security Office received his rank of general from President Arpad Goncz on 18 December. [passage omitted]

[Lencses] Since the retirement of the former general director, you have been active as deputy head of this office for more than one year. Has the reorganization of the intelligence service now been concluded?

[Simon] As deputy director, I was commissioned to create the new organizational structure of this office, and we carried this out. However, we can never speak of a complete structure in this area, because we must always adjust to the changing conditions. Counterintelligence, antiterrorist activity, and protection of our Constitution are our main tasks, and our organization is set up accordingly. [passage omitted]

[Lencses] By the new organizational structure, do you mean the necessary change in orientation in the wake of the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern-Central Europe?

[Simon] Partially yes, because priorities have changed. Therefore, we had to break away from our traditional enemy image, including our previous way of thinking according to which we must seek enemies everywhere.

[Lencses] Does that mean that the previous state security organs justified their importance by hectic pseudo-activity?

[Simon] That was no pseudo-activity, but rather a total intelligence model, and the essence of this model was that everyone who was moving was a suspect. [passage omitted]

[Lencses] Regarding the effects of the political changes that took place in the neighboring countries, are the new democracies ready for intelligence cooperation?

[Simon] I returned from Sofia on 18 December, from a meeting of the heads of the Albanian, CSFR, Polish, Romanian, Russian, and Bulgarian intelligence services. This was a new initiative, and the goal of this meeting was to find out about the role of the intelligence services in the developing democracies. We spoke about working out the legal and organizational frameworks of our cooperation, and we will probably discuss professional matters at our next meeting in March 1992. Some services are still working with the old staff, and they are still facing a reorganization.

[Lencses] Does that mean that you already have closer contacts with the Western intelligence services?

[Simon] Yes, but first we had to overcome our mutual lack of confidence, because we sat down to the negotiating table as former enemies. However, our job is similar everywhere, and our common way of thinking got us together quickly. We have some contacts with many countries today, especially in the areas of terrorism, drug traffic, and refugees. [passage omitted]

Olszewski Interviewed on Nationhood, Developments

LD2512112691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1503 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jan Olszewski by correspondent Maria Lehrman; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Lehrman] Jan Olszewski, prime minister of the Polish Republic. On a day, actually the first day, in which you have found yourself in your office—that of first citizen in our country—please tell me how you feel.

[Olszewski] A feeling of burden, of being weighed down by responsibility. To tell you the truth, I have not really had time today to consider this or to become familiar with my office because today I am introducing my ministers to their departmental duties. This is a day of very hard work.

[Lehrman] You said in your statement that you see your mission as a government of hope. This note was already sounded in the presidential elections a year ago. I think that a great many people are waiting for a chance to believe in something.

[Olszewski] Yes, I think this is very important. Well, what can I say except that I will be doing my very best not to disappoint these hopes. I know that this is very difficult at the moment. Society has been pinning its hopes on the change of system, on the first Solidarity government, on the choice of president, and is still pinning some hope on the changes which are taking place now. Yet in some way, the situation does not answer these hopes. It is, it would seem, getting even worse. I fear that it will continue to worsen for some time yet. We certainly have before us a very difficult first quarter in the coming year, but I hope—I myself have the hope this time—that perhaps in the next few months, we will feel the first results of this new climate, because while these may not be financial results the psychological results of breaking the system which we have had so far, the beginnings of an atmosphere of real, true freedom for us, true democracy, a true Third Republic. [sentence as heard]

[Lehrman] The notion of nationhood lies deep within Poles. I myself have inherited it from my family home. But somehow it happens that over the years some things become muddled, people were afraid of or even scarred by some things. Perhaps it was for that reason that not everybody wanted to participate—because they quite simply no longer believed.

[Olszewski] This feeling of being lost is perfectly natural when, for 40-odd years, we had had no will of our own as a country, as a nation. Nothing depended on us, or at least it seemed that nothing was expected from us. The only thing possible was to live through, somehow to internally defend oneself against an external pressure, and this was to some extent the final line of our independence. Even now, when all this is undergoing change, when possibilities are opening up before us, for people of my generation and also for those who are younger, it is very difficult to see these possibilities, to present them. I do not hide the fact that I am counting mostly on the young generation which is only now entering life. It will be the first generation in a truly free and democratic Poland. This is apparently something—I do not recall it because I was a child at the time—which could be felt before the war, differences between the attitude of Poles whose youth was spent during the years of partition and occupation and that generation, that first generation of an independent Poland, a generation which, I might add, paid such a very high price for our independence during World War II, a price which was then wasted, wasted, not by us, but wasted for us by our allies. But these were diametrically differing attitudes. And I think that now there will be something like that as well. In a sense, we are from the generation from whom communism stole their lives, we are spending only its second, perhaps less attractive, part in a free Poland. But I think it is important that we fulfill our obligations to the next generation which will be the generation of the Third Republic. Today, above all, we should be thinking about them, creating conditions for them to overcome this state of apathy and feeling of impotence, so that they have a sense of full freedom, full freedom of initiative, that they simply are aware that their own fate and the fate of their fatherland is in their hands.

[Lehrman] So that a field can open up before the young people where they do not have to leave their country, where in the long term they can live here...

[Olszewski interrupts] ...and have opportunities, have their own opportunity and opportunities for their peers, their people, where this people's place is.

[Lehrman] Your profession is an extremely fine profession, and even the name itself—counsellor. Now you have an opportunity to be a counsellor to the people, a counsellor to Poland. This is a metaphor which includes a great deal, but behind which also lie a great many difficulties and a great responsibility. Undoubtedly you will also have to deal with the opposition.

[Olszewski] Opposition in a democratic country is a normal thing. I would not treat this as something extraordinary or outright improper. On the contrary, opposition is a very important component of every democratic system....

[Lerhman interrupts] But it should somehow be creative, in some sense it should care about constructing new values, creating, building, rather than destroying.

[Olszewski] That is always a certain alternative. But in a democratic system—and that is its main positive feature—there must always be some alternative to the government program that is being implemented. It is a kind of safety mechanism.

[Lehrman] So you are not afraid of this opposition?

[Olszewski] No. I can even assume that I could be acting mistakenly, I even have to do so, because people always make mistakes under all conditions and especially in conditions as difficult as the ones we are working in. I am treating this as a safety mechanism of a kind. If I am not succeeding, then there is still the second line, there is still someone who can take over and run it better. I treat the opposition here even as something that assists me, something which provides you with a certain mental comfort that we are not, say, the last line, that there is a certain depth behind us, a certain reserve.

[Lehrman] How do you intend to get the people active? Do you have some idea about that? Because there is a certain amount of fear of things new.

[Olszewski] We have become very accustomed to our life proceeding in stagnation, in some sort of peace, in a slowing down of time. This is very difficult for young people. But for people whose youth was taken away by the creation of this climate of impotence and who, in time, became used to this climate, for them it is very difficult to readjust. That is why I said at the outset that democracy, the Third Republic will be an opportunity precisely for the young people. We, well, we have to break through it. I have a feeling, at times I suddenly have a longing myself that perhaps it would have been better to sit at home, to watch, I do not know, to listen to the radio, to read a good book. But at the same time I have a sense of some great duty, well, something that we have not done for 40-odd years because we were not able to do it, because we were prevented from doing it. We now have to try and do it in a certain contracted time, to give everything we can still give.

[Lerhman] And which is worth giving. It is 24 December 1991 and we have a Polish Government, we have Poland, we can do a great deal for ourselves.

[Olszewski] I would like to wish everyone, all the citizens of this country here, all Poles wherever they are, I would like to wish them the first year in which Polish democracy has finally had a full start. We have a president elected in democratic elections, we have a Sejm elected in democratic elections, finally we have a Polish government appointed by the Sejm with the president's cooperation. We are making a new start, the start of the Third Republic. I would like this first year of our now common country and state to bring us the first rays of hope for a better tomorrow, and I would like us to feel these first rays of hope. [passage omitted]

PAP Profiles Prime Minister Olszewski's Life

LD2512051791 Warsaw PAP in English 1631 GMT 24 Dec 91

["Prime Minister Jan Olszewski's Life Story"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 24—Jan Olszewski, 61, was born in Warsaw to a railwayman's family. A lawyer by profession, he specializes in criminal law. He started his career as a lawyer in 1962 and acted as a counsel for defence in numerous political trials in the 1960s and 1970s. He defended leading dissidents of those times, among others, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, and students arrested in March 1968 incidents. In consequence he was forbidden by the then minister of justice to work as a lawyer, and was put on trial. It was only in 1970 that he returned to his profession. In 1972 he defended leaders of a clandestine anticommunist organization. In 1975, he co-organized protests against amendments to the Constitution guaranteeing the leading role of the Communist Party in the state and Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union. In 1976-77 he was a co-founder of the Workers Defence Committee (KOR), the Committee for Social Self-Defence (KSS KOR) and the Movement for the Defence of Rights of Man and Citizen (ROPCZIO), and defended the striking workers of Ursus and Radom. He played a key role in drafting the statutes of the first free trade union of workers of the Gdansk coast, and next in registering the Solidarity union in 1980. One of the Solidarity's chief advisers, he also acted as an adviser to the clandestine structures of Solidarity under martial law, as a counsel for defence in trials of Solidarity activists, and as plenipotentiary of Father Jerzy Popieluszko's family in the trial of the priest's murderers. He participated in the roundtable talks in 1989. In December, 1990 Lech Walesa entrusted him for the first time with the mission of forming a cabinet, but he resigned soon after due to the differences of views. Member of an advisory committee at President Walesa (till last November), deputy chairman of the National Citizen's Committee, co-founder of the Atlantic Club for Cooperation with NATO. [sentence as received] Deputy to the Sejm on the Citizens Centre Alliance's ticket. [sentence as received]

Government Recognizes Uzbekistan, Other Republics

AU2412141091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1153 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/12/1991—The Romanian Government decided to recognize the state independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Republic of Kyrgyzia, the Republic of Tajikistan and the Republic of Turkmenistan, which the parliaments of the respective republics proclaimed.

The Government of Romania states its readiness to establish diplomatic ties with the three republics and to develop friendly and cooperative links with the newly independent states on the basis of the principles of international law.

New Border Crossing Opened With Moldova

AU2512141091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1159 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/12/1991—Wednesday, December 25, a new two-way crossing point between Romania and the Republic of Moldova was opened at Sculeni, on the Prut, some 20 km far from the Romanian town of Iasi. The event illustrates the wide opening promoted by the two governments," said Colonel Mihai Caliniuc, in command of the frontier guard brigade. At Sculeni people and cars will cross the frontier, showing nothing but their identity cards. In the future, after new facilities are created, goods vehicles will also be allowed at Scaieni, which is intended to be a crossing point favouring permanent and civilised traffic.

Envoy Protests Articles in Swiss Daily

AU2412182591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1656 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/12/1991—In connection with the articles published by Laurent Nagy in the 16 and 19 December issues of "JOURNAL DE GENEVE" daily, titled "Andras Suto, le Hongrois Qui Derange" (Andras Suto, the Upsetting Hungarian"), and, respectively, "Transylvanie, le Fantome Encombrant de Ceausescu" (Transylvania, the Cumbersome Phantom of Ceausescu"), Romania's ambassador to Berne, Nicolae Iordache sent a letter to the said daily's editorial staff, expressing his bitterness that a publication of such prestige makes room in its pages to a denigratory campaign against Romania, allowing inaccuracies and open incitations to a "civil war," to hatred and retrocession of Transylvania to Hungary to see print. The letter also expresses the deep indignation of Swiss citizens and Romanian residents of Switzerland who, in messages remitted to the Romanian Embassy in Berne wonder what aim is pursued by publishing such materials that urge to hatred, foster extremist attitudes and actions, stir to civil war and to a badly disguised irredentism.

I am all the more surprised, writes the ambassador, as your paper would have been able to document on the allegations made in the two articles among its own staff, which includes editors and writers that are conversant with Romania's situation, its history, the difficulties it traverses and the efforts my country fellows are making to rid themselves of the cruelty of a recent past that put to the test the endurance of both Romanians and ethnic minorities in Romania. It is to be regretted that your newspaper, that enjoys an excellent reputation in Romania and the world, has found this original and incomprehensible manner of marking the two years since the Romanian people toppled, with so many sacrifices, the dictatorial regime arousing such sad memories. It is equally regrettable that "JOURNAL DE GENEVE" and those expected to watch over its fame permitted so carelessly that a shadow be cast over its image, concludes the letter addressed by the Romanian ambassador to Berne.

Roman Attends FSN Meeting in Cotroceni Palace

Statement Expresses Disappointment

AU2412183191 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] A ROMPRES telegram reports that Mr. Petre Roman made a statement to the press after his participation in an event in Cotroceni Palace. Here is what the national leader of the National Salvation Front [FSN] said:

On Monday [23 December] I participated in the meeting at Cotroceni Palace, namely in what was supposed to be the first FSN Council of December 1989. This meeting left me with a bitter taste. I wanted to participate because of a feeling of closeness and solidarity with those with whom, in the first moments of the revolution, I rose and chanted slogans against the dictatorship, and because I wanted to be in solidarity with those who had opposed the dictatorship before us. I went there because I shared a common destiny with those people during that irresistible upsurge to topple the dictatorship, ROMPRES reports.

However, I was saddened to note that these very feelings were absent from that meeting. Beyond any political opinions, which are out of place at this time, the obvious omission and exclusion of certain names like [name indistinct], Radu Filipescu, Mariana Celac, and Andrei Plesu, and the mention, on the other hand, of names like Doina Cornea, Ana Blandiana, and Mircea Dinescu, once again and very clearly raises the question: Why this desire to create an image of consensus? There the revolution was forgotten; on the contrary, this was a political show, Mr. Petre Roman's press statement emphasized, ROMPRES reports.

Presidency Responds to Remarks

AU2512140991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0913 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/12/1991—After he attended a ceremony, on December 23, at Cotroceni

Palace, during which the medal "December 1989 Revolution" was handed over to some hundreds of participants in the developments ended with the victory of the December 1989 revolution, Romania's former prime minister, Petre Roman, the leader of the ruling National Salvation Front, issued a press communique saying: "The ceremony gave me no reason for joy. I decided to attend it, as I feel close to those that took to the streets in the first hours of the revolution, to those who shouted 'boo,' with those who opposed the dictatorship before us. But I was sad to see these feelings were not present there. Names were ignored, such as Ascanio Damian, Radu Filipescu, Mariana Celac, Andrei Plesu, (that have to be awarded the medal), irrespective of their political option, that was unimportant in this situation. Names were given, on the other hand, such as Doina Cornea, Ana Blandiana, Mircea Dinescu, and the question should be asked, why this wish to create an image of consensus, that is not true. The revolution was forgotten there, that was political parading."

For its part, a press release of the Romanian Presidency mentioned that "among those that have been granted the 'December 1989 Revolution' medal were members of the former Council of the Front of National Salvation, the first caretaker state body instituted on 22 December 1989. Not all the members of this council who had been invited attended the ceremony. Some could not be found at home, some others were abroad, some of those invited did not come.

It is surprising and a matter of regret that Mr. Petre Roman refers in his press release to "intentional omissions." He was late for the preliminary ceremony and was not patient enough to stay until the main ceremony ended, adds the press release of the presidency.

A certain clumsiness in organising the ceremony, signalled, in fact, by a number of participants, can be no justification for remarks with a political character, made by Petre Roman, which he did not voice at the ceremony, as would have been natural, and which are obviously ill-meaning.

Stolojan Chairs Meeting on Economic Matters

AU2412191491 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan chaired this year's last cabinet meeting at Victory Palace this morning. In opening the meeting, the prime minister announced that Mr. Doru Viorel Ursu [minister of interior in Petre Roman's cabinet] was appointed secretary of state in the public administration department. He also informed those present that he will meet with the prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Valeriu Muravschi, in Husi on Saturday, 28 December.

Then, National Bank governor, Mr. Mugur Isarescu, announced that the report of the commission in charge of tracing possible funds embezzled by Nicolae Ceausescu and his aides was finalized yesterday and that it is at the disposal of the government members after which it will be published. In connection with this report, Mr. Isarescu emphasized that, following investigations, the members of the commission did not trace any embezzled funds; however, on this occasion, the commission clarified the funds of the former Securitate and of the former Romanian Communist Party [RCP] management, as well as operations with gold and golden objects taken over from the bungalows belonging to the Ceausescu family or from the headquarters of the former RCP Central Committee.

Bearing in mind that the commission's mission has ended, the national bank governor demanded the release of the investigation commission from its function, and made certain suggestions for the functioning and organization in the future of such bodies that should deal with the state's heritage.

Then, Mr. Mugur Isarescu discussed aspects of the evolution of the leu-dollar exchange rate and emphasized that, ignoring national interests, some export companies asked foreign partners for postponement of payments, something that hampers the mechanisms characteristic of the market economy in the monetary and financial policy. In that context, the governor of the National Bank stressed that in order to ensure the stability of the leu's exchange rate, it is necessary to correlate all economic policy elements and to ensure better cooperation with the foreign trade department and a proper policy of credits and interests rates. He also emphasized that without a coherent policy in the area of accumulation and investments, it is not possible to relaunch the Romanian economy.

The executives then endorsed the report on the suggestions and changes proposed for the state administration budget for 1991, as well as the draft law on the amendment of the state administration budget for 1991.

The cabinet also endorsed and submitted to parliament the draft law on raising Romania's participation quota in IMF and the amendment of that body's statute.

Similarly, the meeting endorsed the draft law on setting up people's banks and the bill on emergency procedures for the prosecution and trial of some acts of corruption.

In today's meeting, the executives examined and endorsed several bills, including the one on exemption of customs duties for paper milling equipment, printing equipment, printing ink, and newspaper paper for 1992, the bill on the organization of the national agency for the privatization of small and medium-sized enterprises, and the bill on financing local elections [scheduled to take place on 9 February].

Stolojan Hopes Elections Take Place as Scheduled

AU2412164891 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] The prime minister of the Romanian Government, Mr. Theodor Stolojan, marked Christmas and New Year in a meeting at Victory Palace with ministers, secretaries of state, department chiefs, and institution managers, ROMPRES reports.

In his speech, the executive chief expressed the hope that the government will be able to properly fulfill its mission, namely apply the program presented in parliament, even if the country is going through a difficult socioeconomic period. It is important, the prime minister emphasized, that we realize more and more what the market economy means throughout the world, not only in Romania, and that we have begun to overcome the—I would call it—naive approach to the market economy.

In response to criticism voiced against the government, the prime minister stressed that the inefficiency of which the government is accused is generated by various causes, including the fact that we have not yet been able to put into operation the instruments characteristic of the market economy and to manage them efficiently. He also emphasized that public administration has to make efforts to seek the necessary resources, which will permit progress, despite the indolence and inefficiency of some of its officials. He also stressed that it is necessary to ensure the protection of public efforts and to eliminate from among its ranks everything that is outdated, useless, or a burden.

Referring to the question of general elections scheduled to be held next spring, Mr. Theodor Stolojan expressed the hope that this government will end its activity in April 1992, and he rejected certain points of view regarding the postponement of elections until the fall of next year. My duty and that of the government is to take all necessary measures so that general elections will take place as agreed upon with the political parties, that is two or three months after the local elections, Mr. Stolojan emphasized.

PAC President Manolescu To Run for Presidency

AU2012153191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1517 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 20/12/1991—Nicolae Manolescu, president of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], announced during a press conference organised in Bucharest on Friday, December 20, that his political formation decided to back his candidacy for the country's presidency in next year's elections.

Nicolae Manolescu wanted to answer, through a statement made to the journalists present at the press conference, President Iliescu's assertions according to which the Civic Alliance Party would be "an extremist, antinational and destabilizing party." Specifying that the Civic Alliance Party is a centre-right political formation, expression of equilibrium and moderation, Nicolae Manolescu severely criticised President Ion Iliescu.

Manolescu Pleads for Cooperation, Not Rivalries

AU2412140491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1007 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/12/1991—"In the present conditions the stress should be laid on the coalition and collaboration not on rivalries," the leader of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] Nicolae Manolescu states in an interview with daily "CURIERUL NATIONAL" making reference to his party's participation in the local elections in February 1992 on common lists with the other formations in the Convention for the Instauration of Democracy. Approaching the question of the electorate's options in the perspective of elections, Nicolae Manolescu states that "the Civic Alliance Party does not use the tactics of promising what it cannot give because this people has finally the right not to be lied any longer." Mr. Manolescu stresses that "during the election campaign one will see we have solutions for all domains." He does not exclude the possibility that "some former partisans of the National Salvation Front go towards the Civic Alliance."

Asked about what he did to improve Romania's image abroad, Nicolae Manolescu confessed: "Wherever I went I have introduced myself in the name of a party, of an opposition which tries to find a rational language, to talk without passion, understanding what should be understood, opposing the un-understandable measures and trying to offer the world a closer to reality image: We wish the reform and we are even capable of achieving it."

International

Presidency To Acknowledge Soviet Changes

LD2412185491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1817 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 24 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of Yugoslavia today announced that it would acknowledge the definitive decision on changes in the organization of the Soviet state in keeping with international law and the mutual Yugoslav-Soviet interest in the further development and promotion of comprehensive friendly relations and cooperation.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia stressed that the changes were an internal affair of the Soviet nations.

Presidency of Yugoslavia Vice President Branko Kostic received Soviet Ambassador to Yugoslavia G.S. Shikin today, as earlier announced. Ambassador Shikin presented the text of the Alma-Ata declaration to Kostic.

Belgrade Paper Accuses U.S. of Blackmail

LD2412160891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1434 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 24 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI today accuses the United States of blackmailing Yugoslavia because of "one ousted politician," former Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

The daily expresses amazement that Washington saw Markovic's fall as a reason to threaten Yugoslavia with an embargo. It maintians that this is "an unprecedented dictate" and "a plan whose programme goal is the interest of the one and only world power."

"This plan obviously says that Yugoslavia can be ruled as long as Markovic is in office," the paper says. "It is possible that this is a political conspiracy devised by Washington and Europe to shape Markovic's fall into America's alibi for the fall of Yugoslavia," it adds.

"Washington has put Markovic on one side of the counter and the entire Yugoslav state on the other, and Markovic prevailed," the daily writes.

NOVOSTI accuses Washington of using "methods which stink of Bolshevism and do not differ much from totalitarianism and superpower pragmatism."

Greece To Recognize Croatia, Slovenia 15 Jan

LD2412174991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1622 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 24 (TANJUG)—Ambassador and Deputy Secretary of State in the Greek Foreign Ministry Emmanouil Megalokonomos said in Zagreb last night, as carried today by the censored Croatian media, that "Greece will recognize Croatia and Slovenia on January 15 together with other European Community (EC) countries."

Megalokonomos, according to Croatian media, in talks with the Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic underscored that "the main goal of his visit was the wish to acquaint the Croatian Government with Greece's decision to recognize Croatia and Slovenia on January 15 together with other EC countries."

The Greek ambassador, as cited by Zagreb dailies VJESNIK and VECERNJI LIST, said that "it is now clear to Greece that Yugoslavia no longer exists and that Croatia and Slovenia fulfill conditions for recognition sought by the EC."

Federal

Presidency Issues Statement on Independence Decrees

LD2412201591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency today determined that the adoption of the EC declaration of 17 December on recognizing the Yugoslav republics as sovereign states has by its biased and unilateral approach served to exacerbate further the situation in the country. The Yugoslav situation has been particularly exacerbated by Germany's latest decision on recognizing Slovenia and Croatia, and the intention of recognizing the independence and sovereignty of individual Yugoslav republics, before finding a complete solution to the country's crisis, also serves to exacerbate relations that are leading to new armed clashes, a statement from the Presidency session reads. The statement says in its entirety:

A session of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade today chaired by Vice President Dr. Branko Kostic. The president of the SFRY Assembly, the vice president of the Federal Executive Council, the federal secretary for internal affairs, and the deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs also took part in the session.

The Presidency examined the current political security situation in the country, especially in connection with the request by individual republics to the European Community for recognition of their independence. It was determined that the adoption of the EC declaration of 17 December on recognition of the Yugoslav republics as sovereign states has by its biased and unilteral approach served to exacerbate further the overall situation in the country. The Yugoslav situation has been particularly aggravated by Germany's latest decision to recognize Slovenia and Croatia. The intention of recognizing the independence and sovereignty of individual Yugoslav republics before a comprehensive solution is found to the state-political crisis in the country does not promote stabilization of the circumstances in the country, but further aggravates relations that are leading to new armed clashes.

The SFRY Presidency also determined that the submission by individual republics of requests for recognition

of their independence to the European Community in fact constitutes their demand for secession from the SFRY as a single entity recognized in international law. The act and the way in which it is desired to bring this about is at variance with the SFRY Constitution, and in the case of Bosnia-Hercegovina is at variance with the Constitution of the republic itself, for in Paragraph 1, Article 2 [of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Constitution], Bosnia-Hercegovina remains a part of the SFRY.

The request that has been submitted by Bosnia-Hercegovina is illegal and illegitimate, for it is not the result of the coordinated will of all three peoples comprising the state in that republic. The Presidency also warns that bodies in Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted this decision without any direct consultation, by way of referendum, with the Moslem and Croatian peoples, and in contradiction to the will—expressed by referendum—of the Serbian people, the great majority of whom opted for life in Yugoslavia together with other peoples.

Such actions on the part of the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina have led to a further worsening of the political security situation in that republic, which may lead to the most tragic consequences. This has already been demonstrated by numerous excesses—from explosions and unsolved killings to numerous protests and incidents against the Army, right up to apparently petty excesses that in this environment have, or can have, exceptionally grave consequences.

Mindful of the responsibility the Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership bears for the state of affairs in the republic, the SFRY Presidency expects the competent state bodies, as well as the leaders of the national political parties, to refrain from any moves or activities that might further exacerbate the situation and to take urgent additional efforts in order to reach, in accordance with our system of constitutional law, a generally accepted agreement in the long-term interest of all the peoples and citizens who live in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The SFRY Presidency expresses its conviction that the Arbitration Commission to which, in keeping with the Presidency decision, the competent body of the federation will appeal will examine with the greatest attention the complexity of the constitutional, legal, political, and interethnic situation in all the republics that have sought recognition of independence and sovereignty, and also in the Yugoslav federation as a whole.

At today's session the SFRY Presidency was also briefed on the latest changes in the organization of the Soviet state. The SFRY Presidency is following these changes attentively and considers them to be the internal affair of the Soviet peoples, whose final decision it will respect in accordance with international law and the mutual Yugoslav-Soviet interest in further developing and promoting all-round friendly relations and cooperation.

Kostic Views Consequences of EC Recognition

AU2512162491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Any unilateral solution in Yugoslavia leads to a further aggravation of the situation, Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, said among other things in an interview given to the Belgrade Radio First Program. For the "News of the Day" program we have selected his answer to the question of what will happen if the EC recognizes Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Begin Kostic recording] If the EC as a whole recognizes Slovenia and possibly Croatia, then this would mean that the EC has given up the attempt to seek a solution to our political crisis in a peaceful and consentaneous way. However, even in that case this would still not mean full international recognition of these republics that started unilateral secession from Yugoslavia until these new states are recognized by the United Nations.

It can easily happen that if this process continues toward unilateral recognition without acknowledging the facts that this—in the case of Bosnia-Hercegovina, for instance—means not only the violation of the SFRY Constitution but also the violation of [word indistinct], the constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina, if these legal norms are simply ignored and political solutions are imposed ignoring all international legal norms and regulations, then one should not exclude the possibility that the people that have expressed their wish to remain together in Yugoslavia, and who still total more than 55 percent of the entire Yugoslav population, might make their own move. This will most probably mean an immediate recognition of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the formation of this new state community which, according to our assessments, will in this case be comprised of Serbia, Montenegro, the Republic of Serbian Krajina, and most probably, if events go on this way, the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

However, if these events start developing this way, that is, if this haphazardness is not checked—also with the help of the international community—then it is very possible that the clashes will escalate, and there is a great danger of these war conflicts spreading to Bosnia-Hercegovina, too. [end recording]

Government Calls For Deployment of UN Troops

LD2512182391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1550 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today again called for the immediate deployment of U.N. peacekeeping troops in Yugoslavia, as an "essential and irreplaceable measure for avoiding new bloodshed, ending the conflict, and calming and stabilizing the situation in the crisis areas."

The Yugoslav Government specified at its session today that the deployment of U.N. peacekeeping troops was

also a "precondition for the resumption and successful outcome of the talks on the country's future," as a statement released by the federal information secretariat said.

The federal government session was chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic, since Prime Minister Ante Markovic has resigned.

The Yugoslav Government said it "views with confidence" the upcoming visit of U.N. secretary-general's special envoy Cyrus Vance, and "attaches outstanding importance" to that visit.

The federal government announced that it would, in connection with the E.C. declaration on the criteria and deadlines for the recognition of Yugoslav republics, once again draw the European Community's attention to the possible chaotic consequences of premature steps, and that it would do so proceeding from Yugoslavia's international obligations.

The E.C. has decided to recognize by January 15 all Yugoslav republics which wish to be recognized as independent states and which meet the E.C. conditions.

The Yugoslav Government drew attention to the "full gravity of the situation in the country and in Yugoslavia's international obligations if changes in the status of individual (Yugoslav) republics were to be made before a definitive agreement on the Yugoslav crisis as a whole, especially before an agreement on the division and assumption of obligations towards third countries and in international organizations."

Assembly To Discuss 'Self-Determination' Process

LD2412184991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1736 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 24 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly today called on all republican and provincial parliaments to, by January 5, 1992, name their representatives who will take part in the making of a legal act on the manner and procedure for the realization of the constitutional right of nations to self-determination.

A statement issued after today's meeting of federal parliament and government officials said that the Yugoslav Government continued to carry out its constitutional duties and that its representatives would take part in the work of the Yugoslav parliament.

Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic resigned last Friday [20 December], and under the Yugoslav Constitution, the federal government remains in office until the election of a new one.

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly will meet on December 29, and the Federal Chamber on December 30. The agenda includes the adoption of the federal budget and enactments for next year.

The federal parliament and government officials said they would ask all republican and provincial parliaments to set out their stands on the measures of the macroeconomic policy for 1992.

The delegates several federal units are not taking part at all or are only partially taking part in the work of the Yugoslav Assembly, said the statement, adding that only the decisions of those parliaments which take a stand on these acts would be taken into consideration.

It was also said that the Federal Chamber would discuss the resignations of officials from the republics of Slovenia and Croatia who were members of the federal government or federal organs.

These officials resigned after their republics unilaterally declared independence from Yugoslavia late last June.

JNA, Bosnian Officials Discuss Army Position

AU2412201291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] The state-political leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina today held talks with the officials from the Federal Secretariat for National Defense at the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The talks were attended by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Biljana Plavsic, Ejup Ganic, and Stjepan Kljujic, all members of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Jure Pelivan, president of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina; and Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party.

The delegation of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense consisted of the following: General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense; Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, commander of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia; Admiral Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense; Major General Aleksandar Vasiljevic; and Colonel Slobodan Jeftovic.

The main topic of the conversation was the role and the position of the Army in the current political situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Army's key stand is that it will not impose political solutions by force and that it will prevent the spreading of possible interethnic conflicts.

The participants in the meeting fully agreed that the most important thing is to secure peace in the Republic of Croatia. An urgent cease-fire is the precondition for the soonest possible deployment of the UN peace forces to the crisis areas. The joint stand is that the state organs of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Yugoslav People's Army should be engaged to preserve peace in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and prevent possible interethnic and other clashes. In connection with this, the participants agreed that all paramilitary formations be disbanded, that legal action be taken against those who

perpetrated crimes, that the refugees be ensured safe return to their homes, that the normal functioning of economic activities be ensured, especially in the spheres of transportations, the special purpose industry [namenska industrija], and supplies.

Regarding these issues, the participants in the talks agreed on the forms of continual cooperation and monitoring the realization of these issues in practice. It was jointly agreed that such talks are useful and that they can significantly contribute toward the preservation of peace in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and improvements in cooperation between civilian and military authorities and that this practice will be continued.

Republics Blamed For Not Helping Croatia

92BA0232B Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 91 p 2

[Article by Ivan Marijacic: "On the Silence, Low Spirits, and Straggling of the Neutrals"]

[Text] The faster the process of untying the Yugoslav knot and the closer Croatia comes to realizing its century-old aspirations, the more pronounced is the desire of other members of the former Yugoslav community to keep pace with it and enjoy the final success of victory. At the same time, it is very much a question of whether they themselves have contributed to it. Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Kosovo, and even Slovenia, under the cover of an internationalism which Croatia had painstakingly brought about, now want a painless solution to their own political frustrations, which for a year now Croatia has been resolving with all the tragedy of warfare.

The fact that others are following in Croatia's train is proven by the recent demands from those communities that the blue helmets also be deployed in their so-called critical areas as a wall or barrier to the invasion of Serbian expansionist attempts. Thus, Macedonia wants blue helmets on the border with Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina would like to see them in the region of Neum and the "krajina" there, and Dr. Rugova probably wants them all over Croatia as a means of protecting the Albanian population from the Serbian repression it is receiving daily.

Croatia, then, has been waging war, and is still waging war, not only for itself, but also for others, for all those who have been a target of expansion of the Serbian state. Many people say that Croatia will pay the highest, that is, most tragic, price for its aspirations, but at the same time it will also gain the most in the end. Others were not prepared for that price, but, realizing the now historical significance of an imminent Croatian victory, they want to derive the maximum of identical aspirations. Time will show who will succeed in this.

Rifle by Rifle

Nevertheless, one inevitably gets the impression that Croatia in the course of the one year of hell through which it has been passing has not had the support of the other Yugoslav states which it might have expected and which in the final analysis it deserved. More or less all have faced the identical pressure of Serbian expansionism and territorial encroachments. In the critical moments, it took courage and strength for the decisive No! to an expanded Serbia which was wrapped in the cloak of Yugoslavia. No one had forces, and no one except Croatia and Slovenia the courage. That is how it happened that the creeping and quiet occupation took over a majority of the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Neither Croatia nor Slovenia had any military force at all. But they did have a clear political viewpoint and they turned it into an energetic and gradual resistance. Croatia acquired rifle by rifle, shell by shell, until ultimately it created a defensive force worthy of respect even on the part of such a strong power as the JNA. There are no grounds, then, for the reproach that the others had nothing to work with, because at the outset Croatia had no weapons either.

While Croatia was bleeding, and it is still bleeding profusely, and while at the same time it was painfully going through the international arbitration of the Yugocrisis, others, feigning alleged neutrality, were balancing between "the two sides to the conflict," always trying to measure out the blame for the war with an equivalence of responsibility for Tudjman and Milosevic, when it was long ago clear who the aggressor is and who is the victim.

For a long time now, there has been fighting in Croatia that reached the republic from Bosnia-Hercegovina. Chetnik military phalanxes have been moving from Bosnia-Hercegovina into an outright and destructive campaign against Dubrovnik, and its president Alija Izetbegovic maintains silence, all the while playing the neutrally fair politician. Possibly he knows that the state he heads is occupied and does not possess a force that could resist the occupying Yugoarmy, but a minimum of political correctness would require of him that he at least state openly and clearly who is the attacker in this war and who is only defending himself, instead of tolerating in the name of nonintervention the burning of Croatian villages in eastern Hercegovina and genocide against the Croats there before his very eyes. Finally, instead of looking on quite indifferently as young Muslims are led off to war against the Croats. Instead of that, Izetbegovic could hardly wait for the verbal awkwardness of the Croatian politicians in order to reinforce without much thought his hastily concocted theses concerning the equality of blame.

The Macedonian Soldiers Are Still Waging War for the JNA

The behavior of official Macedonia is hardly different in any essential way. At the beginning there was also a balancing in that republic between Milosevic's modern

federation and Tudjman's confederation or an alliance of sovereign states, and only subsequently, when it became clear that the dreams of any form of community had been dashed, was the earlier Croatian proposal for an alliance of states accepted. After that, decisions that were acceptable in essence were enacted in that state, implicitly condemning the aggression. The recruitment of young Macedonians was not allowed, but at the same time the demand was not persistently backed up for the withdrawal of about 20,000 young Macedonians who are now waging war against Croatia.

For Kosovo's legitimate, but illegal politics, the war in Croatia meant a conflict between Croats and Serbs and was of no concern. The negative attitude of the public there toward the Serbian occupation regime has not been transformed into active resistance, which would have made Croatia's position easier, at least in the sense of spreading the truth in the world to the effect that Serbian imperialism is a problem not only for Croatia, but for all of Serbia's neighbors. Instead of that resistance, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova has been supporting a policy of waiting and silence, which objectively has made it possible for Serbia to keep Kosovo on a leash with little effort and to direct the brunt of its destructive power against Croatia.

The Horrible Price Could Have Been Less

Milan Kucan, Slovenian president, is at this point even entertaining the idea that the question of recognition should be taken up, if not as a package, then individually; that is, recognition of Slovenia if there is some difficulty with Croatia. Here, he seems to have forgotten that Croatia was the first to demand and was the most persistent in seeking internationalization of the Yugocrisis and that the success which ultimately took the form of Slovenia's formal independence is actually the result of a road which Croatia paved through a bloody struggle.

Realizing, then, the usefulness and political wisdom of the strategy chosen by the Supreme Command of the Republic of Croatia, today all those who previously belonged to the former Yugoslavia want to get on the train of Europe and the world. Because the values for which our republic is waging war today do not belong to it alone, but are planetary and universal, it is no particular sin if others also share in the sweetness of Croatian victory. But all this time in which the occupier has been inflicting drastic punishment, the states of the former Yugoslavia could have offered Croatia much greater support, and the terrible price which Croatia has paid and is still paying for its freedom and their freedom could have been far less.

Constitutional Court Rules on Kosovo, Croatia

92FA0261C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 91 p 6

[TANJUG report: "No Decision on Abolishing the Kosovo Presidency"]

[Text] The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia yesterday found unconstitutional the provisions of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Croatia prescribing crimes against the republic, such as threatening the territorial integrity and independence of the republic, armed rebellion, terrorism, and the like.

Crimes against national security, under the SFRY Constitution, are prescribed by the Federation, and those crimes are set down in the SFRY Criminal Code, the Constitutional Court stated.

It also found unconstitutional the supplements to the Law on Nationwide Defense of the Republic of Croatia in which the republic regulated military obligations and other defense matters regulated by a number of federal laws.

Because the votes were divided, the Constitutional Court did not render a decision today on the constitutionality of the Law on Termination of the Presidency of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo, which the Assembly of Serbia adopted at the beginning of this year.

Judge Veljko Markovic proposed that the court reject the proposal of the FEC [Federal Executive Council] that the law be proclaimed unconstitutional, taking the view that it does not abolish the Presidency of the province as an institution, and that the Assembly of Serbia could enact such a law.

Expressing profound disagreement and asserting that the Assembly of Serbia had no constitutional basis for the contested law, Judge Pjeter Kolja proposed the court's proclaiming it unconstitutional.

Judge Omer Ibrahimagic also resolutely contested the conception of Judge Markovic, stating that Article 147 of the SFRY Constitution "cleanly and clearly" established that presidencies exist in the republics and provinces. They were set up, then, by the federal Constitution.

For Ibrahimagic, then, the most important question is whether the Assembly of Serbia can enact such a law? He did not honor the "justification" to the effect that the Assembly of Serbia had to enact it because the Assembly of Kosovo is not in operation. Everyone knows why that Assembly is not in operation, and the law on that was adopted by the Assembly of Serbia, Ibrahimagic said.

He insisted that the possible unconstitutionality and illegality of the operation of one body cannot remove another body by that same activity.

The assessments of Judge Veljko Markovic were also contested by Milovan Buzadzic, president of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, who argued, with the help of a dictionary, that cessation of operation also signified that the institution is abolished and dissolved.

Proceeding on the basis of Article 147 of the SFRY Constitution, Buzadzic took the position that the republic Assembly does not have the right to abolish or transform the Presidency of the republic, much less the

presidency of another sociopolitical community, and he concluded: The contested law is unconstitutional.

None of the proposals passed in the final vote: Neither the one to the effect that the law is constitutional, nor the one to the effect that it is unconstitutional, nor the one that "relates" decisionmaking to decisions on the law concerning cessation of operation of the Assembly and Executive Council of Kosovo and to the opinion concerning the provisions of the Constitutions of Serbia, Macedonia, and Croatia introducing the institution of the president of the republic.

Four judges voted in favor of the decision that the disputed law is constitutional, and six for the decision proclaiming it unconstitutional. A decision is adopted when it receives eight votes.

Croatia

Tudjman Answers Questions on Phone-In Program

LD2512000791 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Studio phone-in program with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and unidentified announcer—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Announcer] President Tudjman, a large number of questions refer to relations with Serbs and Serbia. It may be best to give separate replies. First, how can you talk with people such as Milosevic?

[Tudjman] When it comes to state policy you cannot choose your collocutors. You must have talks with your opponent, and as for those that think we should not have talks, we simply reply that those states that could rely on their own forces had talks with those states that were inferior to them, and we were, obviously, in an inferior position, and in addition, we advocated searching for a political solution.

Let us look at the situation regarding the disappearance of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union disappeared and a community of sovereign states was set up. Had they.... [Tudjman changes thought] Last year we kept proposing an alliance of sovereign states and had we been able to achieve that [passage indistinct]. It would have been more favorable for the Croatian people. There would have been no casualties, no destruction, etc. We wanted that alliance in order to secure our international status, to have our own armed forces, and to gain our own currency. Therefore, we would have had all the attributes of a sovereign and independent state without the bloodshed and destruction. Therefore, the answer as to how I could have talks regarding destruction can be found in the fact that I wanted to achieve the best results for Croatia and, it seems to me, for others who did not agree with that and who are also going to suffer—not only Croatia.

[Announcer] Being in this position I would like to ask a question: Namely, there was a discrepancy between what the Serbian leadership did and what documents it signed. Can you, on the basis of the contacts and talks you had with Slobodan Milosevic, foresee whether he is ready to continue the war to the end—and will that also mean his end? Or will something change now after these recent American decisions?

[Tudjman] I believe changes must take place. We should, however, not rule out that, out of despair, he will try to take some other suicidal steps, but it seems to me that he will have to yield to international pressure because they are completely isolated. The only remaining alliance—i.e. friendship—in Europe for them is with Greece and Romania and distant China. Obviously that will not be sufficient to oppose the whole world.

[Announcer] A viewer from Opuzen, Mr. Vidavic, asks whether the Serbs in Croatia who took part in the war against Croatia will be offered amnesty. What are the conditions?

[Tudjman] Look, that war, together with the distrust and animosity that existed, obviously brought something and decades will be needed to forget the terror that was inflicted upon us. But I feel should be aware of two things regarding this: those who committed crimes will have to account for them. But a considerable number of the Serbian people were deceived and forced to join the war against Croatia, and those people—if they have not emigrated, if they recognize Croatia as their homeland—that part of the Serbian population will have to be offered an opportunity of living here and showing whether they really accept the Croatian homeland or not. I think this war will eventually lead to a situation where Serbia as a whole and also the Serbs in Croatia will realize that the Croatian people are sovereign it their country and that Serbs can enjoy all civil and human rights envisaged by international conventions, but that they cannot govern Croatia on behalf of Belgrade, which was the case until recently.

[Announcer] Mrs. Silovic from Zagreb has asked how you are going to persuade Croatians to live with Serbs.

[Tudjman] I think a considerable number of people know that there are Serbs who live here peacefully, and there are even Serbs who are fighting in our ranks. I have personally seen them at battlefields when visiting eastern and western Slavonia, Bania, and Lika. To tell the truth, their number is very small, but still there are some. Therefore, that is proof that some of these Serbs consider Croatia their homeland and therefore the Croatians must understand that such people should be able to live peacefully in Croatia.

[Announcer] Viewer Ana Peric says that you personally show very great patience toward the Serbian people, but do you think you will succeed with them if you remember that Radic [Croatian deputy killed in the Yugoslav parliament in 1928] was killed by them—this could also happen to you.

[Tudjman] This could have happened to me, this could have been planned. By the way, I can say that we received information from three foreign countries on sending those who should have toppled, beheaded, the present Croatian government. [sentence as heard] However, I as a man and as a historian know that the enemy's plan is conducted for as long as it is believed that victory will come. Wars are also waged for as long as it is thought that something can be conquered or one's own will can be imposed. Therefore, as long as it is believed that killing—as was the case with Radic, and now in this war when it was believed that through the killing and the war the Serbian will could be imposed on the Croatian people—that Croatia can be conquered. [sentence as heard]

However, this war proved that Croatia cannot be conquered, that the Croatian people are strong enough to oppose the Serbian aggression that was supported by the Yugoslav Army, which in initial stages was not only Serbian. The Yugoslav Army also had members of other Yugoslav nations who were forced to fight against Croatia—there are such soldiers even today. Therefore, this war proved that Serbia, even with the help of some other forces, and the inclination of some international factors was not able to conquer Croatia and therefore the fact is that Serbia will in the end nevertheless be forced to seek solutions and prereqisites for the normal, if not good-neighborly, but at least bearable relations between Croatia and Serbia. We should also recall that in recent history warring countries became not only allies but also the leaders of the new Europe.

[Announcer] In this way you have already answered our next question: is there a chance of establishing relations with Serbia after the war?

[Tudjman] Well, when Serbia also recognizes Croatia it is understandable that there will be issues over which we can and will have to cooperate in the interest of both Croatia and Serbia and this part of the world. Roads and communication lines are not just an issue of linking the East, the Balkans, Southeast Europe, and Central and Western Europe, they cross both Serbia and Croatia. The world is being integrated in a civilized manner regardless of differences between states. In other words, there are considerable interests that we must guarantee if there is to be a more harmonious life and if we are to avoid divisions we are now experiencing. As far as we in Croatia are concerned, we shall work toward ensuring that sovereign and independent Croatia is a country willing to cooperate with everyone while at the same time remaining aware of history.

[Announcer] The next question is more a letter than merely a question from soldier Duca from Sibenik. He writes: Christmas greetings to you, Mr. President, your esteemed family, and all of Croatia with the desire to see an end to this dirty, unfair, and brutal aggression against us. I am addressing you as a Serb from Sibenik, a reserve officer of the armed forces of the Republic of Croatia, with an appeal to you to use your authority as president and our supreme commander to protect us from extremist sections of our fellow Croatian citizens who identify us with the Chetniks and their symbols and with the outlaws for whose crimes we do not want to pay. Sibenik is the town of my ancestors and I will not allow anyone to claim that he loves it more than me or is keener to defend it more than me. [passage omitted]

[Tudjman] You see, this letter reflects the tragic position of some people and I would say of the entire Serbian population once this destructive war is over. This letter also indicates that both Serbs and Croatians must draw conclusions from all this. There were some Serbs, or the Orthodox as they were called then, who declared themselves to be Croatians—who not just declared themselves to be Croatians but also acted as such. There were Serbs among high- ranking officers and generals in the NDH [Independent Croatian State] during the World War II. In other words, there were Serbs who felt that Croatia was their homeland and behaved as such, just like this citizen who considers Sibenik to be his town and who is hurt when some Croatian extremists deny his right to consider Croatia his homeland.

You see, there are extremists in all countries and among all nations. What happened in World War II and during the socialist period and the subjugation of the Croatian nation and especially this evil—these crimes and vandalism that the Chetnik hordes committed during this war, the destruction of Croatian villages, crimes committed against not just soldiers but civilians as well, against women, children, the old, etc—have resulted in a feeling of displeasure that makes it hard to believe that there can be reconciliation.

However, let us be human. Looking back over all of human history, from the Bible to the present, there is no other way but that of reconciliation. There is no other way for the world, for a society, but that of forgiveness. Accordingly, Croatia, as an independent and sovereign country that will no longer be threatened by Serbian hegemonism or the aggression that we are exposed to, will have the power and potential based on its orientation to universality and culture to provide an opportunity for coexistence to that part of the Serb population that will stay in Croatia and that will accept it as its own homeland.

[Announcer] Blue helmets—they have been much written about, much talked about; there are various opinions on them. Will blue helmets make it difficult for Croatia to regain its territories, and how will the Croatian Government function in those occupied areas?

[Tudjman] First of all, when blue helmets arrive there will be no occupied territory. The occupied territory will be liberated. Because the prerequisite for the arrival of blue helmets is that the Yugoslav Army leaves Croatian territory, and that blue helmets enter the so-called crisis areas, and then the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Croatia will be reestablished in those areas,

in accordance with the Croatian Constitution and the constitutional law on ethnic communities and national minorities that we adopted.

Therefore, that will not be an occupation, that will be temporary deployment of blue berets in those crisis areas with which we agreed for two reasons: first of all to stop the war, to get rid of the Yugoslav Army—i.e. that it leave Croatia peacefully—and second, to prove that we have nothing against the Serbian population in those areas. But the draft agreement for the deployment of blue berets says that all irregular, Chetnik, and any other armed units must leave together with the Yugoslav Army or be disarmed. Then we would reinstitute democratic authorities that would reflect the national structure of the population in certain areas. The arrival of blue helmets, therefore, means the return of the Croatian population to those areas, such as Ilok and Vukovar. Accordingly, that is not any kind of occupation of Croatian territories, that will mean an end to war and the reestablishment of the legal order of the Republic of Croatia.

[Announcer] This question comes from Ivan Juric of Zagreb: If Croatia accepts international arbitration regarding borders, will it ask for certain parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina to be annexed to it?

[Tudjman] Croatia does not accept international arbitration of its borders. From the very start I have never allowed the possibility, although questions used to be raised, of giving up an inch of Croatian territory, because I stressed that Croatia joined that common Yugoslav state in 1918 with more territory than it has now, and also the Banovina Province [pre-World War II territorial unit] of Croatia in 1939 had more territory.

Regarding Bosnia-Hercegovina, it is obvious that the thrust of the Yugoslav crisis is now being transferred to Bosnia- Hercegovina and that everything will depend on the resolution of problems regarding balance between the Serbs, Muslims, and Croatians. As we can see, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and the government adopted a decision to ask for international recognition. The Serbian people oppose that—they have even set up a Serbian republic. As you know, as a reply to the separation and arming of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Croatian people also had the need to get organized, and I am certain they will not yield to Serbian or any other kind of hegemony. I am absolutely positive that sovereign and independent Croatia will be the support for that part of the Croatian nation. I also mentioned in my message this evening that Croatia has a duty to take care of Croatians outside its present borders and that it is a very delicate question.

Finally, you asked a question—actually, citizens asked—whether they would be able to serve in the Croatian army. We can say with pride that today a large number of people from Hercegovina, but also from other parts of Bosnia, have joined the ranks of the Croatian army and are fighting against the aggression, and likewise there can be no mention of closing Croatia within its present borders not paying heed to the fact that this part of the Croatian nation is situated outside Croatia, which is in western Hercegovina with Bosnia the most compact part. [sentence as heard] It is sufficient to have a look on the map and conclude that politically it is impossible to conceive Croatia, nor these parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina, without the rest of Croatia. [sentence as heard] [passage omitted]

Local Authorities Deny Attack on Serbian Village

AU2512195091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Excerpt] A piece of news that has caused a lot of confusion has been sent from the press center of the Army Second Operational Group for Hercegovina which was carried by TANJUG. It is said in the report that Croatian forces have attacked the village of Glusci near Metkovic and that the Serbian population has been moving out of the village.

Immediately after that report was carried, we received an official announcement from the Crisis Headquarters of the Metkovic Commune in which it is claimed that this report is a calculated lie. What is involved is an ordinary lie and a serious untruth, and one can say that it was calculated at disqualifying the Croatian Army and causing anxiety in the Neretva Valley over the Christmas holidays, it is said in the announcement.

Glusci and other villages in the Neretva Valley have not been affected by the war, one respects the lives of everybody here, and particularly the lives of the Serbs in the village of Glusci. The village was recently visited by an European observers' mission who have seen for themselves that 91 citizens of Glusci are living decently and without any difficulties. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Milosevic Greets Yeltsin on Commonwealth

LD2412204691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1837 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—On the occasion of the adoption of the declaration on the setting up of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Alma-Ata, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has sent Russian President Boris Yeltsin his cordial greetings, the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced.

EC Recognition of Independent Republics Rejected

LD2412190291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1826 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 24 (TANJUG)—Serbia believes that the European Community (E.C.) offer of recognition contained in the E.C. declaration on Yugoslavia, does not apply to it, as set out in the letter by Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic to the

president of the E.C. Ministerial Council, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans Van den Broek.

This assessment is elaborated by the fact that Serbia recognizes Yugoslavia as a joint state in which the Serbian people live, and that "Serbia has not declared sovereignity and independence from Yugoslavia and is not interested in seceding from it."

In the letter to Van den broek, Serbia holds the E.C. responsible for all premature and unilateral acts of recognition of certain Yugoslav republics and underscores that "it is sincerely and vitally committed to the immediate ending of all military conflicts and an all-encompassing solution of the Yugoslav state-political crisis in a just and lasting manner."

Jovanovic recalls that Serbia had attained internationally recognized statehood at the Berlin Congress in 1878, on the basis of which, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was founded in 1918 and achieved international statehood.

Underscoring that Serbia has principled objections to the contents of the latest declaration on Yugoslavia, Jovanovic points out that the E.C. "has stepped a long way out of the framework of its offer of good offices," on the basis of which it received the consent of the Yugoslav federal units and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) mandate.

Jovanovic says that the E.C. has "without authority and contrary to the principles of international law, embarked on forms of interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, including an attempt at the arbitrary dissolving of Yugoslavia as a state."

Jovanovic says that "as far as human and minority rights are concerned, the Republic of Serbia considers itself bound by all the international legal instruments and political documents signed or ratifed by Yugoslavia," and that "regardless of the further unilateral behaviour of the E.C. concerning the Yugoslav crisis, Serbia will consistently abide by these obligations which it has taken on."

Jovanovic recalls that Serbia "has for the last 40 years been the only republic in Yugoslavia, the only country in the Balkans and one of a small number of CSCE countries which guaranteed a wide autonomy to national minorities," and that it is prepared on its territory, "to recognize all those rights which will in future be recognized and implemented by the 12 E.C. countries to their national minorities."

Prime Minister Comments on Cabinet Members

AU2412210291 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Dec 91

["Excerpt" from interview with Radoman Bozovic, president of the Serbian Government, by Nino Brajovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Brajovic] Mr. President, after your election yesterday you stated that your new cabinet is only partly the expression of your wishes. For the reasons of politeness I will not ask you, of course, who you are not entirely happy with in the cabinet. However, since you met all the ministers today, since this is your first working day, how do you like your cabinet today?

[Bozovic] I believe in the cabinet that was elected by the People's Assembly, although it is logical that every minister is yet to justify this trust through his concrete work in the government. This refers to the majority of the ministers, particularly to us new ministers. Concrete work will enable us to say whether the choice was good or not. Considering the fact that I proposed the new government, I believe that this government will be able to conclude a good deal of jobs imposed by the present time.

[Brajovic] You said yesterday that you are in favor of peace and not war. How do you think, and what will you do as the president of the Serbian Government on stopping the war?

[Bozovic] This government will conduct an active policy for peace. This will indeed be done through the logic of declaring war in response to war, but with political and democratic means. We will be creating conditions for resolving the Yugoslav crisis with peace and not war, as much as this is within our ability, as the president of our republic often stresses, and as this is essentially the policy of our republic. We will be searching for those solutions that will create in a peaceful and democratic way the conditions for the resolution of the general crisis in Yugoslavia and the position of Serbia, its citizens, and the Serbian people as a whole in this resolution.

Assembly Session Resumes To Discuss Budget

LD2512101991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0956 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—The People's Assembly of Serbia resumed its session today. The central topic of today's session will be a bill on the Serbian budget for next year.

The agenda also includes some other laws which the parliament should adopt by the end of the year in order to secure the normal functioning of the state.

Poll Indicates Citizens Divided Over War

LD2412143191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1216 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 24 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA publishes today the results of opinion poll conducted by the Institute for Political Studies, stressing that the citizens of Serbia are divided on the issue of the war in Croatia.

The daily says the divisions are visible in the opinions about the manner in which the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and the Territorial Defence (TO) are waging the

war, "as well as the policies on the war pursued by the ruling party," the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS).

The poll, which covered 1,100 citizens of Serbia, indicates that Serbia's policies on the war in Croatia enjoy strong support from 16.8 per cent of the sample, and moderate support from 35.5 per cent, while 20.8 per cent are strongly opposed and 26.9 per cent moderately against them.

The poll indicates that some 57.7 per cent of the Serbs in the sample support Serbia's current policies, while 60 per cent of the ethnic Hungarians polled oppose them. No less than 91 per cent of the Muslims polled declared themselves against Serbia's war policies.

The policies of the ruling SPS in this field enjoy the support of 52.3 per cent of the sample, while 47.7 are against.

The daily says that it is overwhelmingly those under 25 in Serbia who oppose the SPS's policies on the war in Croatia: No fewer than 55.6 per cent of the young pollees are opposed to them.

Some 78.2 per cent of the polled SPS members support their party's war policies, while 75.3 per cent of the members of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) polled were against them.

The SPO is Serbia's biggest opposition party.

Some 60.4 per cent of the sample agree with the view that the JNA and TO are capable of protecting Serbia and the Serbian paople as a whole, but 52 per cent nevertheless say they would like Serbia to form a professional army as soon as possible.

POLITIKA says that 53.7 per cent of the pollees said they trusted the JNA's command cadre, while 28.7 per cent said it not inspire confidence.

Opinions on the mobilization of the army reserve are also divided—52.6 per cent of the sample think it fully justified, but 28.1 per cent said they saw no reason for the war and did not know what they would be fighting for, and would thus avoid the call-up.

Kosovo

'Republic' Government Asks EC for Recognition

LD2412141391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Pristina, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—"The government of the Republic of Kosovo", which has been working illegally since its formation, has asked the EC to recognize "the Republic of Kosovo."

According to today's issue of BUJKU, "the application," signed by Bujar Bukosi, "president of the government" (prime minister), and Iljaz Ramajlji, "president (speaker) of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo," was also sent to Lord Carrington, chairman of The Hague peace conference on Yugoslavia.

Albanians Prepared To Reach 'Historic Agreement'

AU2512170091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] No dialogue with representatives of the Serbian authorities is possible. It is only a question of time until they vacate the political scene. Therefore, Albanians see their future only in terms of reaching a so-called historic agreement with the Serbian opposition, which has a future. This was stressed by Veton Suroi at a news conference in the International Press Center in Belgrade. The news conference was also attended by Shkelzen Maliqi. The topic of the news conference was the current situation in Kosovo.

Analyzing the situation, Suroi and Maliqi presented a series of the already well-known serious accusations against the Serbian authorities and their policies in Kosovo. What is new is the offer to hold talks and reach an historic agreement with Serbs. Suroi particularly stressed that the agreement could only be reached with the Serbian opposition, regardless of the fact that it did not find a correct place for Albanians and a solution for the Kosovo problem in its programs and statements.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Defense Ministry Denies Legitimacy of Mobilization

AU2512204191 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] In an announcement it issued today, the Ministry of National Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina pointed out that military organs in the regions of Zenica and Sarajevo were again trying yesterday and today to carry out mobilization into war units of the Armed Forces without the knowledge of this ministry. These and other activities of the military organs have already caused additional upset and indignation among the citizens.

In this respect, the Ministry of National Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina recalls the decisions of the Government and Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina according to which military organs lack legitimacy for performing these tasks on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Serbian Region Assails Bosnian Independence

LD2412162391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The recognition of independent Bosnia-Hercegovina is a deadly blow at its statehood—with an immediate or postponed effect. This is stressed in a statement issued after the first session of the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Romanija had been held at Mount Jahorina.

The session supported stands of the Serbian Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina on the proclamation of Serbian Bosnia. The government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Romanija congratulates and supports the proclamation of the Serbian Republic of Krajina with Knin as its seat, the statement says.

Party of Democratic Action Holds News Conference

Appoints New Officials

AU2512161191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Ljubomir Nikolic report from Sarajevo]

[Text] The headquarters of the Party of Democratic Action announced that the new vice presidents of the party are Salem Sabic, Omer Behmen, and Sulejman Ugljanin. The secretary is Enver (?Beso). Irfan Ajanovic told reporters that this party supports the demand that Kosovo be proclaimed a republic. The prime minister-designate of the Sandzak Government was also announced today. He is Rasim Ljajic, one of the party leaders. It was explained that Ljajic's appointment was a response to the election of Radoman Bozovic as president of the Serbian Government. The Party of Democratic Action holds the view that Bozovic belongs to the hardliners of the Socialist Party of Serbia. It was also said that the Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina are satisfied with the program of Sarajevo Television and that they are regularly paying television license.

At a regular news conference in the headquarters of the Serbian Democratic Party, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, commenting on the wish of Bosnia-Hercegovina to be recognized by Europe, said that this is an illegitimate and unconstitutional act with which the Serbs will never agree. We have a mechanism for preventing the secession of this republic. We have thoroughly studied the situation and have given certain instructions to our representative in the organs of authorities, Karadzic said. He also said there were no chances of recognizing changes in the republic's status without an agreement of its three nations.

Today, it was also stated that the Serbian Democratic Party insists that the negotiations with the representatives of the Muslim and Croat nations be public. One could therefore expect that the resumption of these talks scheduled for tomorrow will be attended by reporters.

Answering the question of your reporter on which territories will be part of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr. Radovan Karadzic said: all regions in Bosnia-Hercegovina in which the Serbs expressed the wish to stay in Yugoslavia at the recent plebiscite. Finally, let me remind you that the deadline for forming the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is 14 January of next year.

Deems Mobilization 'Unlawful'

AU2512203691 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] A novelty about the interparty talks in Bosnia-Hercegovina, it was said at today's news conference by the Party of Democratic Action, is that they should be open and in this respect be continued at the level of parties and not national communities.

Yesterday's talks between the top republican leadership and representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army were successful and will probably be continued. It was also pointed out that the Party of Democratic Action respects the stands of the republican authorities that mobilization should not be carried out and recruits sent to the Army before absolute peace is established. Therefore, the mobilization carried out in the Sarajevo communes of New Sarajevo and Ilidza last night was assessed as unlawful, it was said at today's news conference.

Besides, the reporters were informed about the formation of the government of Sandzak, which has sent the EC a demand to recognize this region as a special territorial unit, something that the Party of Democratic Action for Bosnia-Hercegovina supports. It also supports the demand that Kosovo become a republic.

The representatives of the party pointed out that they are ready for a referendum at which citizens would state their views about the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stressing their view that no union of (?republics) without Serbia and Croatia is possible.

Croats Plan To Set Up Own Television Station

AU2412180991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Stjepan Kljujic, leader of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina, announced the founding of Croatian Television and a daily newspaper in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Regarding the negotiations between the three national parties, Kljujic said that they have only just started. Ljubomir Nikolic reports:

[Begin Nikolic recording] Regarding the negotiations between the three leading national parties, Stjepan Kljujic said that all three parties have offered their solutions to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the future of this republic in writing. The Croatian Democratic Community insists that the issue of sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina be resolved in a peaceful manner. It also insists on human rights, like the EC. This republic would be demilitarized in the future.

Kljujic also said that the Party of Democratic Action holds a similar view, while the Serbs think that the cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina is the solution for the republic. He agreed with Alija Izetbegovic that Bosnia-Hercegovina should be ensured the same status enjoyed by other republics. Regarding its sovereignty,

Stjepan Kljujic stressed that his party strives for this so that this republic, quote, is not handed over to Serbia and Montenegro, unquote.

Stjepan Kljujic again sharply reproached the Army. Talks between the Army leadership are in fact being held in the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina today. Our trouble lies in the fact that there is no army district in Sarajevo. It was abolished by Raif Dizdarevic, Kljujic said.

The leader of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina today again expressed dissatisfaction with Sarajevo Television and OSLOBODJENJE and expressed the readiness of his party to form a Croatian television station and publish its own daily. He particularly criticized Nenad Pejic, chief editor of Sarajevo Television, for whom he said was Raif Dizdarevic's man. He said that the Croatian Democratic Community will call for his replacement. Saying this, Kljujic in fact expressed a view that differs from that held by Alija Izetbegovic. Izetbegovic is the only party leader who is completely satisfied with the media in Bosnia-Hercegovina. [end recording]

Macedonia

Tupurkovski Participates in Phone-In Program

Intends To Resign From Presidency

LD2512102591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0958 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Skopje, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—Speaking on Skopje Television's "Open Screen" phone-in program last night, Vasil Tupurkovski, SFRY Presidency member from Macedonia, confirmed his intention to withdraw from this post. He also stated that he does not intend to submit his candidacy for the vacant post of Macedonian vice president and that he will temporarily withdraw from politics and devote himself to studies. Tupurkovski is a doctor of international law.

Tupurkovski's office informed TANJUG today that he has made a similar statement on the Sarajevo television "Club 91" program. His office recalled that his intention is not to withdraw officially from the Presidency as long as peace negotiations on Yugoslavia are in progress.

Says Republic To Gain Recognition

LD2512120891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1122 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Skopje, December 25 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav Presidency from the Republic of Macedonia Vasil Tupurkovski has said that he does not doubt Macedonia will gain international recognition.

Tupurkovski said in a Macedonian television programme on Tuesday [24 December] night that his republic fulfilled all conditions set by the European and international community and that he did not see any reason why the E.C. should not respond positively to Macedonia's request.

Asked whether there was any possibility of a neighbouring country attacking Macedonia and whether the republic would in that case seek and receive international assistance, Tupurkovski said that he personally did not believe this was possible but that, in such a case, it would be normal if Macedonia sought international protection, primarily from the United Nations and all international institutions.

In his view, Macedonia can count on the United States as an ally. He cited a recent State Department statement that the United States would strongly condemn any attempt by the Republic of Serbia to use the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia as an excuse for using force or threatening the territorial integrity of the two republics.

Referring to a possibility of the current civil war spreading to the entire Yugoslav territory, Tupurkovski said that he believed that the Yugoslav crisis could be settled without further escalation of war.

Asked about Serbian claims towards Macedonia and a possibility of an alliance of Macedonia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Albania in the current situation in the Balkans, Tupurkovski replied that he supported in principle every idea on cooperation among the Balkan states.

Referring to Serbia, Tupurkovski said that "certain political factors" in that republic have been voicing "aspirations towards Macedonia but without any realistic grounds."

"I believe that Serbia will draw a moral from its hitherto confrontations with other republics and peoples in Yugoslavia," said Tupurkovski.

Financial Operations With Croatia Suspended

LD2512152891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1303 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Skopje, Dec 25 (TANJUG)—The Social Accountancy Service (SDK) of Macedonia has decided to suspend all financial operations with Croatia, following instructions of the republican government.

According to SDK General Director Ilija Boskov, the service will compensate to Macedonian companies for all the payments effected until December 23. All payment operations between the two republics have been suspended from that date onwards until they reach agreement on future trade and financial operations.

The Macedonian Government's move has been triggered by the introduction of a Croatian currency on December 23 and a decision of the Croatian SDK to refuse accepting dinar payments from Macedonia from December 20 onwards.